

MANKIND

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETIES
OF AUSTRALIA

Vol. 4, No. 2.

MARCH, 1949

Price : 3s. 6d.

CONTENTS

PLATES C, D, E. ROCK ENGRAVINGS OF SYDNEY DISTRICT.

PLATE F. ABORIGINAL STONE ARRANGEMENTS, S.E. QUEENSLAND.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES :

THE AMATEUR IN ANTHROPOLOGY: PROF. A. A. ABBIE	41
SOME MYTHS OF THE GARADJERI TRIBE, W.A. DR. A. CAPPEL	46
RECORDS OF ROCK ENGRAVINGS IN THE SYDNEY DISTRICT. XXXIX-XL. MR. F. D. MCCARTHY	61
ABORIGINAL STONE ARRANGEMENTS, DARLING DOWNS AREA, S.E. QUEENSLAND. DR. L. P. WINTERBOTHAM	68

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES :

Annual Report of the Anthropological Society of N.S.W., 1948	69
Annual Report of the Anthropological Society of Victoria, 1948	71
Annual Report of the Anthropological Society of South Australia, 1948	73

REVIEWS :

Economics of the Mount Hagen Tribes, New Guinea. A. L. GUTOW. (F. L. S. Bell) ..	74
Brown Men and Red Sand. C. P. MOUNTFORD. (F. L. S. Bell)	75
Australia in New Guinea. DR. L. P. MAIR. (F. L. S. Bell)	76

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS :

A Gift to the Nation : The R. H. Goddard Collection of Australian and Pacific Artefacts	77	A Bathurst Island Mourning Rite. DR. H. K. FRY	78
The Anthropological Society of Queens- land	78		

Published by
THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NEW SOUTH WALES.
Sydney.

The Anthropological Society of New South Wales

(Founded 1928)

OFFICE BEARERS, 1948-1949.

President: Dr. A. Capell, M.A., Ph.D.

Vice-Presidents: Professor A. P. Elkin, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.I., Mr. D. S. Wylie, F.A.I.S., A.S.A.A. (Eng.).

Council:

Mr. G. W. Watkins, Mr. A. D. G. Downer, Mr. N. W. Waterhouse, B.E., Mr. L. J. Bryce, F.R.G.S.,
Mr. F. L. S. Bell, M.A., F.R.A.I.

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. F. D. McCarthy, Dip.Anthr. (Syd.), c/o Australian Museum.

Hon. Secretary: Miss G. M. Bell, 164 Prince's Highway, Arncliffe.

Editorial Committee: Mr. F. L. S. Bell (Editor), Mr. F. D. McCarthy, Dr. A. Capell.

Hon. Auditor: Mr. D. R. Wylie, A.C.A. (Aust.), A.C.I.S. (Eng.).

The Anthropological Society of South Australia

(Founded 1926)

OFFICE-BEARERS, 1948-1949.

President: Mr. N. B. Thiele.

Vice-President: Mr. T. G. H. Strehlow.

Council:

Professor A. A. Abbie, Dr. T. D. Campbell, Dr. E. C. Black, Professor J. B. Cleland,
Rev. H. W. Bartlett.

Hon. Librarian: Miss G. D. Walsh.

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Edward V. Dix.

Hon. Secretary: Mr. E. L. Austin, c/o The Electricity Trust of S.A.,
232 North Terrace, Adelaide.

MANKIND

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETIES OF AUSTRALIA

Vol. IV, No. 2.

March, 1949

ORIGINAL ARTICLES :

Anthropology : General.

Abbie.

The Amateur in Anthropology.⁽¹⁾ By A. A. Abbie, M.D., B.S., B.Sc. (Syd.), Ph.D. (Lond.), Elder Professor of Anatomy and Histology, University of Adelaide.

Our word "amateur" is derived through French from the Latin *amator*—a lover—and is properly applied to one who does something for the love of it rather than for material gain. There are all grades of amateurs and in England the name itself has different meanings in different contexts. The amateur in sport is held to enjoy some undefined superiority, whereas the appellation "amateurish" is decidedly derogatory. In France, on the other hand, *l'amateur* may be used as more or less equivalent to our *connoisseur*—a point nicely brought out in some of Daumier's illustrations. In this talk the word is used in its dictionary sense as applied to somebody who does something or other mainly for its own sake.

The professional clearly enjoys considerable advantages in the performance of some well-defined job. In particular, long apprenticeship has taught him what problems lie ahead and how best to overcome them, so that he can be relied upon to produce a uniformly satisfactory result. The amateur in the same field, however, does not know what his problems are until they arise—he has to improvise solutions as he goes along, and a successful outcome is not so surely predictable. This generalization applies to any field of activity, whether sport, art, work or anything else. It is true that occasionally the amateur is more successful than the professional, but the answer usually lies in exceptional dexterity or mental capacity, or both. We generally prefer, then, to employ the professional rather than the amateur in the execution of some specific piece of work.

Actually, professionalism is older than civilization, but it has expanded enormously with the expanding technical demands of civilized life. Professionalism also exists among uncivilized peoples and its origin must be sought in early prehistoric times. We should probably find that the upper palaeolithic cave painters were professionals of a kind, but in any case we know that other forms of professionalism existed at that period. This was particularly the case with the production of stone implements, for we have evidence of wholesale manufacture and of trading with quite distant peoples. Clearly, the possibility of trading depends upon the possibility of accumulating a surplus to trade with and that requires the full-time labour of experts. Such people, thus removed from the ordinary communal

¹ Presidential Address delivered to the Anthropological Society of South Australia on November 29th, 1948.

duties of the day, must be supplied with the necessities of life in return for their work. When that happens the professional appears.

Professionalism is, then, very old but, obviously, there must have been a time when any particular professional activity—even the oldest—did not exist. In other words, every profession had to be born, and it was usually born to meet a specific demand. The demand alone was not necessarily sufficient—apparently obvious needs have existed for centuries before they were satisfied. The birth of the new profession required the existence of some exceptional individual who could both see the demand and devise a way to meet it. Often enough this depended upon the combined efforts of a number of such persons. Once the technique was mastered, however, it was comparatively easy to drill even the most mediocre people in the routine procedures devised to guarantee success, and these people became the new professionals. The point here is that those who elaborated the new techniques—whether by adapting old ones or by sheer invention, solving their problems by trial and error as they went along, and pursuing their objective with the enthusiasm and persistence which no money can buy, were in all essentials pure amateurs. Thus, while we can readily admit the overall superiority of the professional in any well-defined sphere of activity, we must also concede that his ability depends mainly upon the originality, adaptability, perseverance and courage of his amateur predecessor.

These remarks apply equally to science. Every known branch has its professional exponents, but every new branch finds its progenitor in the mind of some amateur, working perhaps in a quite unrelated field. Popular writing often ascribes scientific discovery to accident, but that is only a minor truth. Such accidents can happen to hundreds or thousands before the one recognizes their significance. It took a Newton to derive a general law of gravity from the well-known tendency of unsupported bodies to fall to the ground. It is not the accident that matters, but the mind which perceives the accident, and we should like to know more of the earlier accidents which were converted into the technique of stone knapping or the science of copper, bronze and iron metallurgy. At all events, it is clear that in each case we are again dealing with an amateur adventuring into a new world, struggling with tools the later professional would scorn to solve problems hitherto undreamt of.

How does this apply to anthropology? It must be obvious at the outset that a study which aims to cover every conceivable aspect of human structure, function and behaviour cannot be confined within the bounds of a single science. This fact receives vague recognition in the broad distinction of physical anthropology and cultural anthropology, but the distinction involves on the one hand a tremendous amount of overlap and on the other is inadequate anyway. Satisfactory work in either field depends upon the combined activities of an enormous number of experts for any adequate study of man must include everything which affects man—that is, most things on the earth and a great number outside it. In other words, there is no such thing as a single science of anthropology and no such thing as a complete anthropologist. Instead, there is man as an entity to whose study men in every field of human activity can apply some appropriate aspect of their own specialized knowledge. Even those who gain their whole livelihood from this work are but amateurs in the study of the total man, no matter how adept they may be. As a corollary, the reverse process takes place and particular sciences borrow from anthropology: problems of nutrition and environment depend upon the measurements of the biometrician as a source of data, and the social worker employs the methods of the field anthropologist amongst the poorer people of our own cities.

This conception is, perhaps, broader than you would like to concede at first glance. It need not be laboured ; instead, I may turn to some examples of the work of amateurs in the fields of both physical and cultural anthropology.

Physical differences between different people certainly make the first and most forcible impression. This is evident even in some prehistoric paintings and is particularly emphasized in the best art of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. Further, the early writings of both the physician, Hippocrates, and the traveller and historian, Herodotus, recognized such differences and speculated upon their origin and significance. These records were employed by the biologist Aristotle as data upon which to assess man's position in the whole natural system. During the European Renaissance anatomists like Vesalius and Camper, as well as such artists as Leonardo da Vinci and Albrecht Dürer added considerably to our knowledge of ethnological differences, while the English physician Tyson later instituted the first systematic comparison between the structure of humans and the anthropoid apes. The prevalent theological dominance, however, removed man from the natural classification into a special category. This tendency was sharply corrected towards the end of the 18th century by the Swedish botanist Linnaeus, who included man on purely scientific grounds in his *Systema Naturae*. His action aroused both approval and censure, but received the support of the great German biologist and pioneer anthropologist Blumenbach, who introduced some classificatory terms still employed to-day.

The 19th century saw the introduction of measurements and indices as an essential basis for the scientific treatment of anthropological problems. Mounting enthusiasm led to the invention of great numbers of such criteria, but these have since been gradually reduced to the small and standardized group used to-day. Distinguished amateurs in every civilized country contributed. French representatives were in the lead in the persons of the famous surgeon and neurologist Paul Broca, his colleague Topinard, and the zoologist de Quatrefages. Germany produced two physicians, Soemmering and Virchow, Ireland two others in Grattan and Beddoe, and America yet two more in Morton and Meigs. Meanwhile Sweden treasured its distinguished zoologist Retzius. Britain, however, made little early contribution except in one very crucial way. Charles Darwin, a biologist, published his *Origin of Species* in 1859, followed in 1871 by his *Descent of Man*. The implications of the earlier book had, however, already been absorbed and aroused a tremendous controversy. This brought the eminent geologist Lyell in on Darwin's side and, more particularly, Thomas Henry Huxley. Huxley was a medical man by training and a zoologist and geologist by trade. He entered wholeheartedly into the controversy and, incidentally, made some very substantial contributions to physical anthropology.

The 20th century has seen too vast an expansion of physical anthropology for any brief appraisal, so a few outstanding features must suffice. One notable advance was recognition of the different blood groups by the physician Landsteiner and their application to anthropology. This entirely new technique has proved of great value in sorting out ethnological affinities and its recent application to quite ancient skeletal material by a serologist—Candela—promises to provide equally valuable information on the affinities and wanderings of ancient man.

Of even greater importance has been recognition of the fact of individual variation throughout the biological world and its application to man. The essential point is that such variation introduces quite important errors into conclusions based upon only a few individuals.

The Frenchman Quetelet emphasized the necessity for more rigorous treatment of measurements in the earlier part of the last century. His suggestion was later developed in England by Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin, and best described as an inspired amateur in human biology. The actual science of human biometry was finally established upon a secure footing by the English mathematician and philosopher Karl Pearson and his pupils, particularly G. M. Morant. However, most of the techniques now employed in human, and other, biometry were introduced by R. A. Fisher, whose primary interest was in agricultural problems. This technique greatly reduces the errors inherent in chance, individual variation and personal bias; it emphasizes the importance of adequate samples collected at random, shows how to extract the required information in the most appropriate way, and provides a means of checking the reliability of both the samples and the conclusions. In short, modern biometry is one of the most powerful weapons yet devised for attacking numerical anthropological problems, and we owe it almost entirely to people who were not essentially anthropologists.

Only a very brief survey of cultural anthropology is permissible. Taking first things first, it is clear that, next to physical differences, differences in language mark an outstanding distinction between different peoples. The science of linguistics is one of the foundations of cultural anthropology and its development has taken two major forms, both with the same object in view, namely to trace the origin and evolution of language groups. One road to this goal is through decipherment of ancient documents, whether on papyrus, parchment or stone. Here two quite notable adventures are worth recording. The more famous concerns the translation of the Rosetta Stone, for which the major credit naturally goes to the French infant prodigy Champollion; but it is not generally known that the English doctor and physicist Thomas Young had made quite substantial progress in the translation some years earlier. Even less well known was the decipherment of ancient Persian inscriptions, a task which occupied the whole lifetime of three noted philologists—Niebuhr, Tychsen and Grotefend. Those achievements have been followed by others, but while we now enjoy considerable facility in a number of ancient languages we still have no clue to the meaning of the inscriptions left by the Hittites, the Cretans and the Etruscans, nor have we made the slightest approach towards discovering the import—if there is any—of the markings on the painted pebbles of Mas D’Azil.

The alternative approach is in the reverse direction—by argument back from existing languages. In this field, once again, a pioneer has been passed over, for it was an English judge in India, Sir William Jones, who really established the science late in the 18th century by pointing out the similarities between Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Celtic and their modern representatives. Half a century later Max Müller, a German scholar, settled in Oxford and established the science of philology on a sound basis. Unfortunately, much of his good work was offset by the confusion he introduced, quite innocently, by using the terms Aryan and Semitic as equivalent to both the groups of languages they properly referred to, and also the groups of people who used those languages. This unhappy identification of ethnological characters with purely linguistic affinities gained wide currency and, despite Müller’s subsequent protests, introduced many permanent fallacies into human thought.

Perhaps one of the most characteristic branches of cultural anthropology is archaeology, which measures man’s progress by recovery of his achievements of the past. This particular discussion may be restricted to the sphere of stone implements. The study of these implements is in itself now a more or less well-defined science, but that was not always so. The

significance of the implements seems to have been appreciated by enlightened individuals from the 16th century on. However, such was the power of the Church that any attempt to antedate man's origin beyond 9 a.m. on the 23rd October, 4004 B.C. (Dr. Lightfoot's estimate) or thereabouts was considered blasphemous and incurred penalties which effectively suppressed any real speculation on the subject. Thus, despite accumulating evidence, it was not until the early part of the 19th century that any headway was made, and this progress was due almost entirely to the courage and persistence of the French amateur archaeologist Boucher de Perthes. Only in the latter half of the century did he gain any real support, either in France or in England, but gradually he assembled a group of interested amateurs, clergymen, doctors and scientists, who evolved the system of classification in use to-day. Later still an Englishman, Reid Moir, established the possible Pliocene origin of the Red Crag implements found near Ipswich, and Harrison described the eoliths he had discovered in the glacial and pre-glacial gravels in Kent. This branch of archaeology was, then, established and developed almost entirely by amateurs, and it still provides an absorbing and fruitful field for the amateur of to-day.

Space, unfortunately, precludes any elaboration of other aspects of cultural anthropology, so two further references must suffice. The first is the manner in which culture, social custom and so on influence physical structure. Obvious examples of this are artificial deformation of the skull in Armenia, South America, Malicolo and other places, and also artificial deformation of women's feet in China. I am less concerned with this gross effect, however, than with the more subtle influences exerted by such social factors as dietary habit, cultural status and control of environment. On a previous occasion I mentioned the effect of these factors on the measurable characters of stature, proportions, girth, weight, and probably skull formation, upon which a great part of physical anthropology depends. Clearly, any physical assessment of a group of people to-day must include consideration of all these apparently extraneous influences. But the chief point of interest in the present context is that we owe our advancing knowledge of this not to anthropologists but to physiologists, chemists, dietitians, etc. And finally, let me draw your attention to one of the most important documents on cultural anthropology yet produced. This is a book by Kinsey, Pomeroy and Martin called *The Sexual Behaviour of the Human Male*, which surveys and assesses every aspect of this fundamental topic as it is expressed, particularly in city life, at all levels of society. The book is not by cultural anthropologists, or indeed by anthropologists of any kind: it is the work of three biologists and statisticians who have applied to human populations the same methods that they had employed previously on insect populations.

I hope now that I have established my point that the amateur in anthropology can be a very important person indeed.

A. A. ABBIE.

Australia : Linguistics.**Capell.**

Some Myths of the Garadjeri Tribe, Western Australia. By A. Capell, M.A., Ph.D., Reader,
Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney.

INTRODUCTORY.

The Garadjeri tribe has been studied by a number of previous field workers, notably Professor A. P. Elkin and Dr. R. A. Piddington.¹ Some references to the language have been made by Dr. Nekes and the Rev. Ernest Worms, and a number of myths has been given in English by Dr. Piddington. In this paper ten Garadjeri myths are given in the native language.

Piddington states that the cosmogony stories group themselves into two groups, "the southern tradition and the northern tradition respectively."² A map of the Garadjeri country is given by Dr. Elkin,³ with an approximate location for 46 horde countries. The myths given in this paper would belong better to the southern tradition than to the northern, but in point of fact they represent a tendency towards a further subdivision, viz. into myths that are the property of the initiated men of a horde. The ten myths recounted here were told by one old man belonging to Migiga horde country just south of Lagrange Bay, and some of them differ from the corresponding myth of either tradition as given by Dr. Piddington. The heroes are not the two brothers Bagadjimbiri,⁴ but two other brothers, by name Gagamara and Gumbar. These two are themselves Migiga men and the stories do not link up with those of Piddington, but still they do belong to the southern tradition. On the other hand, some of the heroes mentioned by him appear in others of the myths recounted here, in different incidents, but these are apparently not definitely associated with either tradition.

The texts of the myths are given below, with interlinear translation, followed by a freer translation and interpreting notes. They were told dramatically, i.e. as a series of conversations, with the bulk of the explanation movements left out, though understood by the narrator. Hence it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the speaker of a given sentence, and a good deal

¹ The following is the relevant literature :

A. P. Elkin, "Totemism in North-Western Australia," *Oceania*, Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 257-296. He gave a sketch of Garadjeri social organization in "Social Organization in the Kimberley Division," *Oceania*, Vol. II, p. 296.

R. A. Piddington :

"The Water-Serpent in Karadjeri Mythology," *Oceania*, Vol. I, p. 352.

"Report on Field Work in North-Western Australia," *Oceania*, Vol. II, p. 342.

"The Totemic System of the Karadjeri Tribes," *Oceania*, Vol. II, p. 373.

"Karadjeri Initiation," *Oceania*, Vol. III, p. 46.

For the subsequent references to Dr. Nekes and Rev. E. Worms :

"The Pronoun in the Nyol-nyol (Nyul-nyul) and Related Dialects" (Dr. Nekes), *Studies in Australian Linguistics, Oceania Monograph*, No. 3, p. 139; "Onomatopoeia in Some Kimberley Tribes of North-Western Australia" (Fr. Worms), *ibid.*, p. 164; and "Foreign Words in Some Kimberley Tribes in North-Western Australia" (Fr. Worms), *ibid.*, p. 169.

² See "Karadjeri Initiation," *Oceania*, Vol. III, p. 47.

³ "Totemism in North-Western Australia," *Oceania*, Vol. III, p. 277, and *Oceania Monograph*, No. 2, p. 23.

⁴ R. Piddington, "Field Work in North-Western Australia," *Oceania*, Vol. II, p. 354. That the stories given in the present paper are really part of the southern tradition is shown by the frequent mention of the Njangumada tribe.

of questioning took place whilst I was taking the first notes. To enable these myths to be fully understood, an outline of Garadjeri grammar is a necessary preliminary, and as this has not been published before, it is a matter of linguistic interest also. In the compilation of this a good deal of material apart from the myths themselves has been drawn upon, together with a few pages of typescript notes by G. Laves, who studied this language and Ba:d in 1929, but has never published his results. These notes have been worked over regarding the "supplements" or suffixes.

The language is divided into two dialects, a coastal and an inland. These do not have separate names, but are referred to as *nadja* and *na:ɲu*, "here" and "that way" by a coastal speaker, and of course in inverse direction by an inlander. The inland dialect naturally tends towards Mangala, and only passing notice is taken of it here, as the Texts are all in coastal dialect. Part of a long Phrasebook which I compiled is in inland dialect. Garadjeri is an agglutinating language, that is to say, words are built up by the continual addition of syllables to a simple root. Many of these roots, particularly verbal roots, are short, even monosyllabic. Amongst such monosyllabic roots are: *ya-*, to go;⁵ *yu-*, to give; *dja-*, to put; *ma-*, to take; *djai*, to come. To these roots are added the variously supplementary suffixes, e.g. *ma-l-gu*, is going to take, etc. It is now possible to pass to the study of the grammar itself.

GARADJERI GRAMMAR.

1. Phonology.

The following alphabet is used in the grammar and texts :

Consonants.	Labial.	Dental.	Alveolar.	Palatal.	Cerebral.	Velar.
Plosives	<i>b</i>		<i>d</i>	<i>d'</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>g</i>
Fricatives	(<i>w</i>)			<i>j</i>	<i>ṛ</i>	(<i>w</i>)
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>n'</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	<i>ṅ</i>
Rolled			<i>r</i>			
Lateral			<i>l</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>ḷ</i>	
Vowels.	Front.			Back.		
Close	<i>i</i>			<i>u</i>		
Half open ..	<i>e</i>			<i>o</i>		
	<i>ā</i>			(a) <i>o</i>		
Open	<i>a</i>					

⁵ This is not the orthography ultimately used in the grammar and texts.

The alphabet has been reduced to its minimum as a "broad transcription" so far as the vowels are concerned. Thus *i* may be either tense or relaxed, and the same applies to *u*. The *e* is approximately the French *ê*, usually short, and *o* has been made to do duty for a very close sound, not much removed from lax *u* (and indeed *u* is sometimes written for it), and also for a more open sound, close to French "open *o*." The *ā* is between *a* in *man* and *e* in *men*; it interchanges with *e* without semantic distinction. The *a* represents a mixed vowel between French *a* in *la* and English *u* in *but*. Also, it may be the open *a* of "father," but in this case it is usually long (never so in the former case). Length is marked by a colon (:) after the vowel. Consonant length does not enter into Garadjeri phonetics, but there is a half length in vowels not marked here.

The consonant table is fairly self explanatory, except for the plosives. The *b*, *d* and *g* are "unvoiced," i.e. acoustically intermediate between Eng. *b*, *d*, *g* and Eng. *p*, *t* and *k*. Moreover they have no breath discharge after them as in English. This explains the change in spelling, e.g. Garadjeri for Karadjeri, Baljeri for Palyeri, etc. The palatals are marked with the acute accent ('), except the palatal fricative, *j*, which is used for Eng. *y*, so that the others may be written *dj*, *lj*, *nj* where the accent is not obtainable. The *d'* is acoustically between Eng. *dy* and *j*, but much closer to the former. The cerebrals are marked with a point beneath; they are formed by turning the tongue towards the roof of the mouth, and have often been written *rd*, *rn*, etc. by English recorders. Cerebral *r* is not trilled, but the dento-alveolar *r* is lightly trilled. The sign *ŋ* is the "ng" of "sing"; the "ng" of "finger" is therefore *ŋg*, and an *ng* also occurs in which each element is separate, e.g. *jan-gu-na*, I shall go. The bracketed symbol *w* is so treated because it occurs in two places in the table; it is a velar consonant with lip rounding.

2. Morphology.

Garadjeri grammar does not require the breaking up of words into the same parts of speech as in English. It is sufficient to divide them into two kinds, viz. object-words and time-words, each of which takes a different set of "supplements"⁶ in the process of sentence building. Included in the object-words are the English nouns, adjectives, pronouns and most adverbs and prepositions; the time-words are of course primarily the English verbs.

In each group the roots themselves are invariable, with the exception of a few verbal roots, which change their vowel to show a past tense. A root in Garadjeri may be regarded as the minimum element in the word which is not subject to modification in any way (with the one proviso just mentioned). While many of the time words are monosyllabic, as already shown, by no means all are so, and the object words are definitely not monosyllabic, but tend to be disyllabic. There is no space here for a theoretical analysis of Garadjeri roots. What is important to know, as the key to the whole grammar, is the nature of the *Supplements* and how to apply them. These added elements, here called Supplements, may be divided into three main groups. One group (A) is applied only to object-words, another (B) to both object and time-words, and a third (C) only to time-words. There are some homonyms amongst them that must be carefully distinguished in use.

⁶ A somewhat similar division was made by me for a Melanesian language in the New Hebrides. See A. Capell, "Grammatical Categories in the New Hebrides," *Bull. School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VIII, The term "supplements" for suffixes added to words in a series comes from J. R. Firth. See his "The Technique of Semantics," *Philological Society's Transactions*, 1935, quoted and applied to Japanese in S. Yoshitake, "A New Classification of Constituents of Spoken Japanese," *Bull. Sch. Orient. Stud.*, Vol. VIII, p. 1039.

(A) *Supplements Applied to Object-Words.*

The supplements applied only to object-words are the following, in alphabetical order :

- | | | | |
|------------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1. <i>-bari.</i> | 4. <i>-d'a.</i> | 7. <i>-lu.</i> | 10. <i>-yuru.</i> |
| 2. <i>-bia.</i> | 5. <i>-gaḍi.</i> | 8. <i>-mi.</i> | 11. <i>-yurin.</i> |
| 3. <i>-bula.</i> | 6. <i>-gura.</i> | 9. <i>-nga.</i> | 12. <i>-rayu.</i> |

Examples :

1. *-bari* means "having," "possessed of": *d'ando-bari*, "having a woman," i.e. "a married man." See Text IX : 23. In the Northern Kimberley languages there is a similar form *-yari*.

2. *-bia* forms some nouns of agent: *d'ingan*, to strike; *d'inganbia*, a murderer. It is not a very commonly used supplement.

3. *-bula*, a very common mark of the dual number in Australian languages, serves the same purpose in Garadjeri: *mungu*, frilled lizard; *mungu-bula*, two frilled lizards.

4. *-d'a* is a general locative, similarly in usage to No. 9, *-nga*. Examples in Laves' MSS. are *balar-d'a*, in one's back; *bira-d'a*, at the base (of a tree). It is also capable of combining with No. 9 to form *-d'ayga*, e.g. *bugari-d'ayga*, in the dream time; *d'urar-d'ayga*, on the beach.

5. *-gaḍi* indicates movement towards a person or place: *d'urar-gaḍi*, to the beach; *mai gan'a ṇad'u-gaḍi*, he brought food to me; *ṇura-gaḍi jangun'a*, let us go to the camp.

6. *-gura* is the sign of the possessive. It is thus added to all pronominal roots: *ṇad'u-gura*, my, mine; *bala-gura*, his or her; *n'undu-gura babala-gura d'ando*, your brother's wife.

7. *-lu* serves a twofold purpose; it is first the instrumental sign, and secondly the agentive sign before a transitive verbal root. (1) *ban'i-lu*, with the hand; *d'ingan-ma gad'u-lu*, (I) hit him with an axe. (2) *Marṇu-lu d'ingan man'a*, the man hit me; *guḍan-du miṇa gan'anda*, your mother saw you. This example shows that *-lu* undergoes phonetic change by assimilation; after *-n* and *-r* it becomes *-du*; after palatals it becomes *-d'u*.

8. *-mi* remains somewhat doubtful, as it is rare. Laves suggests possibly the idea of "by," and gives *germil'*, high up (referring to tree burial) and *gerambin'* or *geramin'*, along the western (horizon), but in both cases the supplement is further compounded.

9. *-nga*, a locative, commoner on the whole than No. 4, *-d'a*; *ṇuni-nga*, in that (place), over there; *mulāl jād'āla-nga*, not at home; *wangu-nga*, on a stone. Its compound with No. 4 has already been mentioned.

10. *-yuru* indicates movement from a position: *gangara-yuru*, from above; *jāra ṇaba-yuru*, come away from the water; *walibi-yuru jan'a*, he went from the camp.

11. *-yurin* indicates the reason for something: *ṇana yurin jangun?* What do you want to go for? *Mil'in-yurin*, about a spear, on account of a spear.

12. *-rayu* is a plural sign: *balarayu*, those; *d'ugud'u-rayu*, children; *ṇadurayu*, who? (plural). It can thus be added to any time or object-word, not only nouns in the European sense.

Certain of these supplements may combine with each other, e.g. *ṇad'u-gura-lu*, my, when the object possessed serves as the subject of a transitive time-word, for when two object-words depend on each other, any supplement is added to the first member of the pair (or sometimes larger group): *ṇad'u-gura-lu d'ābulu jun'an'a*, my father gave it to me; *guḍ'ara-*

lu maryu min ma-ri-bula-nda, two men are waiting for you. The same matter of word order applies to other supplements as well: *bala-gu d'ando juwa*, give it to that woman (for -*gu* see next section).

(B) *Supplements to Object-Words and Time-Words.*

Certain of the supplements can be applied to both types of root, with somewhat different, though obviously related meanings. The main one of these is -*gu*. Its root meaning is that of purpose, so that applied to an object-word it answers roughly to the Classical Dative Case, English "for": *d'ariara d'uru-gu*, look out for snakes; *ɲad'u-gu jani mala*, make it for me; *jindala d'ana-gu*, tell it to them. As applied to time-words, it still indicates purpose, and may be combined with the future supplement -*l-* to form a more definite future: *ɲad'ulu jani ma-l-gu*, I shall make it; *d'ina ma-l-gu-li*, let us track him. Added to the end of a time-word or phrase (not in the middle of it), -*gu* then shows that the purpose is unfulfilled, i.e. it is hypothetical. Thus *id'a. wiɖiri man-ɲa-ra-gu*, true, he might pull it away; *mulal man'a goi n'undulu, wiɖiri man-ɲa-ra-gu*, if you don't catch the fish he might pull you in; *d'ugu ma-la-ja-ra-gu*, they might be ridiculing you. The particle *ɲala* may divide the -*gu* from the main root: *gad'u ga-wa-ni d'ingan ɲala-gu*, bring an axe to hit him with (lit. take-(imperative)-hither-hit so-that-for. Note that in this use the future supplement -*l-* is not used with -*gu*.

(C) *Supplements to Time-Words.*

The following supplements are applied to time-words only, and serve to indicate person, tense and mood. There are no distinctions that can be called "voices." This group of supplements is divisible into three sub-groups: (i) those that indicate person: these follow all others that are added to the time-word; (ii) those that indicate other personal relationships, and (iii) those that indicate time and mood.

(i) The supplements that are of a pronominal nature can best be listed alongside the cardinal pronouns themselves, though these, of course, being invariable, come under the heading of object-words.

	Cardinal.	Subject.	Direct Object.	Indirect Object.
Sing. 1	<i>ɲad'u</i>	- <i>na, n'a</i>	- <i>n'a</i>	- <i>d'a</i>
2	<i>n'undulu</i>	- <i>n</i>	- <i>nda</i>	—
3	<i>bala</i>	—	—	- <i>la</i>
Dual 1 incl.	<i>ɲali</i>	- <i>li</i>	- <i>ɲalin'a</i>	- <i>ɲaligu</i>
1 excl.	<i>ɲal'a</i>	- <i>l'a</i>	- <i>ɲal'an'a</i>	- <i>ɲal'agu</i>
2	<i>n'unbula</i>	- <i>nbula</i>	- <i>n'unbulin'a</i>	- <i>n'unbulagu</i>
3	<i>nangud'ara</i>	- <i>bula</i>	- <i>bilin'a</i>	- <i>bulagu</i>
Plur. 1 incl.	<i>ɲan'd'oro</i>	- <i>n'a</i>	- <i>ɲandirin'a</i>	- <i>ɲandirigu</i>
1 excl.	<i>ɲan'aẽ?</i>	- <i>jana</i>	- <i>ɲan'in'a</i>	- <i>ɲan'agu</i>
2	<i>n'ura</i>	- <i>juru</i>	- <i>n'irin'a</i>	- <i>n'uragu</i>
3	<i>nangoro</i>	- <i>ja</i>	- <i>d'in'a</i>	- <i>d'anagu</i>

⁷ This is the coastal form. The inland dialect has *nganina*, but in other pronouns agrees with the coast, except that -*nda* is replaced by -*nggu*.

Two points call for notice : whilst it is generally necessary for one of the tense-supplements to intervene between the root and the pronominal supplements, yet it is also possible to add the latter immediately to the root in an aorist sense. Secondly, the forms in columns 3 or 4 may be combined with those in column 2. The use of column 1 is necessary only for emphasis. examples : *jinda-na-d'ana-gu*, tell I them to, i.e. I tell them ; *jinda-la-d'a*, tell me ; *ju-wa-la*, go to him. The last two examples, of course, involve tense-supplements. Also : *miṛa ga-bula*, they two look ; *gamba-n'a*, I cook (an alternative to *gamba-na*) ; *bara-lu gambaiali-gu*, the sun might burn us-two (-*gu* hypothetical, as above) ; *d'ugurul'*, *n'ura rawari*, make a mistake, and you die ! *N'anara gulba bala* ? When does he come back ?

Examples in the Inland dialect are : *jarani*, *gala miṛa gan'an'angu*, come along, I can see you ; *marjo-lu min ma-ri-ngu na-d'a-nga*, a man is waiting for you (-*lu*, A.7, -*ri*-, C.9 (below), -*ngu*, B. (above), -*d'a*, A.4, -*nga*, A.7) ; *ju-ngu-na-ngu*, I will give it to you (-*ngu*, C.8, combined with -*gu*).

In a few cases the subject-supplement precedes the object-supplement : *ṇana ṇurin d'iya-ri-n'a-n* ? why are you following me ?, as against *d'inarin-ṇal'an'a*, you follow us-two.

(ii) A supplement -*wa*- is added to the root to indicate reflexive or reciprocal action. This is not used alone, but in combination with some of the forms in (i) above : *d'ābir ma-lga-ja-wa-ni-n'a*, they are chatting with each other ; *d'ubug d'andi-wa-ri-n'a*, he covers himself with ashes ; *d'ai-ja-wa-nu-ngu*, they met with each other. An alternative expression is seen in *gud'ara d'ugudu guli gan gin'āngud'ara*, the two boys quarrelled with each other.

(iii) The following are the temporal and modal supplements :

1. -*ba*-. This indicates a recently past time ; and is most frequently used in words compounded with *d'a*-, put, and *ma*, take (see below for such compounds). So *mālga ma-n-ba-na*, I looked for it. The -*n*- is treated below, No. 5.

2. -*di*-. This supplement is added chiefly to the root of the time-word, even in the case of *d'a*- and *ma*- compounds. It indicates continuity of action, and is undoubtedly related to No. 9, -*ri*-. Laves' notes give *ma:ndi*, to walk ; *d'a:ndi*, to do, the continuative forms of *ma*- (not used, as ambiguous) and *d'a*- already mentioned. The -*n*- is once again No. 5. Example : *ma:ndi jan'āri*, he is walking, where the second root is *ja*-, go. So also *Jāra ma:ndi*, go outside !

3. -*d'i*-. This supplement has not been satisfactorily identified yet. It occurs chiefly with -*gu* : *gaundan'aralagud'i*, I called this fellow (not you). The example occurs in Laves' notes, who, however, was not able to explain it.

4. -*l*-, sign of incomplete and future action. It is mostly used in its simple form in the imperative, and frequently compounded with -*gu* in the future. So *jinda-la-d'a*, tell me ; *d'uga ma-l-gu-n'a*, let us make fun of him ; *bara ma-l-gu-li*, let us-two run away.

5. -*n*-. This supplement has no temporal force, but simply serves to mark a root as a verb. It may even be used in a future tense, and is very frequently followed by some other supplement which serves to mark the tense more clearly. So examples under 1 and 2 above : *mulāl ṇaba-lu d'ā-n*, *ṛumbunga wanadi* : he did not come for the rain, he is at home. A very frequent combination is -*n-gu*, marking the future, as also *n-ṇa* ; -*n-ba*-, marking the near past, is also common.

6. *-ni-* is local, not temporal, and marks movements towards the speaker : so *ga-wa*, take it, as against *ga-wa-ni*, bring it.

7. *-n'a-*, according to Laves' notes, marks the present time, whether complete (perfect) or still in progress. So *n'āṇa-n'a-na ṇala ṇad'ulu*, I have seen it for myself. It combines also with *-ri-* to mark a definitely progressive present : *ja-n'ā-ri*, he is going. In one example to hand it takes on a conditional force : *d'ābulu-lu miṛa ga-n'a, bāra d'inga-n-u*, if his father saw him, he might beat him.

8. *-n-*. This is a past tense sign, with certain roots only, practically limited to the 3rd person singular : *d'ānu*, he put it ; *d'inganu*, he hit.

9. *-ṇ-*. Also a past tense sign, chiefly with the 1st person singular, which then loses its *-n-* and makes a resultant *-ṇa* : *ma-n-ṇa*, I took it.

10. *-ri-*. A sign of a condition or continued state : *ja-n'a-ri*, he is going. The *-n'a-* expresses the present action ; *-ri-* the fact that it goes on. So in *wai n'undu mālga d'ārin* ? Are you tired ? *d'ā-* is the common auxiliary root, " put," " be in a state," " have " (as an ailment, etc.) ; *-ri-* expresses the continued state, and *-n* indicates the 2nd singular subject. The answer (Inland dialect) is *maṛad'āra mālga d'a-ri-a-ṇa*, " I am not tired."

11. *-ṛa-*. There is a double use of this suffix, which generally comes at the end of the entire compound. It is very common in the imperative and appears to have a continuative sense. Examples : *ṇana-gu ja-n'a-na-ṛa* ? what are you coming for ? i.e. what do you want ? *bul'ar ju-wa-n'a-ṛa*, give me some string ; *mulāl ju-ṇgu-ṇa-ṛa*, I won't give you any ; *gaunda-la-ṛa bala-gu*, call out to him ; *bun'd'a jinda-la-ṛa*, say it slowly. It is also used in the second clause of a pair to indicate consequence : *ṇadu-lu d'ingan d'ugudu-ṛaṇu bala-guru ṇad'a ga-ra-ja* ? who hit those boys (and made) them cry ? i.e. so that they cried ?—*Mai ga-wa-ni-d'a-ṛa, wo:ba juṇhu-ṇa-ṛa*, bring me food, (and) I will give (you) a little.

12. *-wa-*. A supplement indicating the imperative : *ga-wa-i*, take them away ; *ga-wa-ni*, bring here.

These examples will have shown that Garadjeri has an almost unlimited power of adding supplement to supplement to express shades of meaning. At the same time, it is possible to use none of the last group of supplements at all, at any rate in the imperative the simple stem sometimes is enough : *miṛa ga* ! Look ! A few examples have already been given in which the person signs were added directly to the root. More usually, however, one or more of the last group of supplements intervenes. To close this sketch of grammar, some phrases will be given in which a considerable degree of agglutination is to be seen. It is, however, first necessary to state that many of the verbal roots are compounded of an object word and an auxiliary time-word, chiefly *d'a-* *ma-* and *ja-*. So from *bina*, ear, is derived *bina ga-*, take the ear, i.e. hear ; *d'unḡa d'a-*, extinguish, from *d'unḡu*, fire, and *d'a-*, put. Finally, a very few verbal roots change the vowel to indicate past time : *ju-*, give > *ji-* ; *bu-*, hit > *bi-*.

Illustrations of the agglutinative process : *bina ga-ri-gu-na*, we shall be hearing (*-ri*, continuative, with *-gu-*, future, and person ending) ; *d'ani ma-ri-waṇi-n'a-la*, he is covering himself all over with it (*-la*) ; *miṛa ga-ṇgu-na-n'imbili-n'a*, I might look round for you two ; *gulba-ja-ja-bilin'an-d'i*, they had already brought them back ; *miṛa ga-n'ā-ri-bula-in'a*, they-two are looking at us ; *ju-ṇgu-ṇa-nda-ṛa*, I will give it to you (coast dialect ; inland would be *ju-ṇgu-ṇa-ṇgu-ṛa*).

These notes will be sufficient to indicate the general type of Garadjeri grammar and to interpret the texts following. Details such as the order in which various supplements may

combine and the order of words in the sentence must be gathered from a study of the texts which now follow.

TEXT I. THE CULTURE HEROES, GAGAMARA AND GUMBAR.

1. *Gud'aralu marŋu gaḍu mana'gula ba:ga. Ḑaḍugud'ara gin'angud'ara?* Gumbar,
Two men were-cutting wood. Who-two they-two? Gumbar
Gagamara. Ḑana ba:ga? Bila:wal. 2. *Warad'a marŋu ŋana-gu?* Galiguru.
(and) Gagamara. Which trees? Red gums. One man what-for? Bullroarer.
Gud'ara jenda. Wai gulbaguli? Ḑawai, ḥad'ugura gaḍi ŋura. Lani *ŋura*
Two talk. ? We-two-return? Yes, my to country. Close country
ŋaligura. 3. *Wai n'undu bararga? Ḑai, warug janguli, gala gai jan'ari,*
our-two. ? you sorry? Yes, quick let-us-two-go, and bye and bye he-goes,
miŋa gan'iri. 4. *Balabala d'ando magurd'a. Wan'd'ar gad'a babala? D'ingalguli?*
he looks. There woman track-in. What-shall we-do, brother? We-two-shall-
Muläl, d'ando ŋaligura. 5. *Muläl d'inganagu. Ḑaligura d'ando gabali.*
kill? No, wife of-us-two. —Not to-kill. Of-us-two woman wife.
Ḑan'd'oro warad'a muwar. 6. *Ḑawai, muläl mabu. Jago ḥd'ugura n'umbala,*
We-all one language. Yes, not good. Husband my you-two,
muläl d'ingala n'umbalalu ḥad'u. 7. *Ḑad'ugabali n'umbalagu. Ḑawai, mabu n'undu*
not kill you-two me. I wife for-you-two. Yes, good you
d'ando. Muläl guligu bala d'ando. 8. *Balabala malu marŋu guli gad'a galilu.*
woman. Not to-fight that woman. There plenty men fight with boomerang.
Ḑawai, janguli lani marŋu gaḍi. 9. *Ḑaḍugud'ara n'umbala? Ḑal'a Gagamara,*
Yes, let-us-two-go close men to. Who-two you-two? We-two Gagamara
Gumbarŋu. Ḑana ŋura? Ḑal'a ŋura Gulumbur. 10. *Ḑawai, gin'angaraŋu*
and Gumbar. What country? We-two country Gulumbur. Yes, they
d'aijawanira. 11. *Ḑana gad'a? Warain mai. Warain'aranyulu muläl gad'a mai.*
come-to-each-other. What doing? More food. Other-men not (got) food.
12. *Ḑawai, muḍa. Jangun'a miŋad'a gaḍi, jindaraja malulu marŋu.* 13. *Ḑaḍu?*
Yes, nothing. Let-us-go look to. are-talking many men. Who?
Balagud'ara. Jand'a d'anga marŋu gud'ara, gala jend'a. Ḑana gad'a jindaraja jälira?
Those-two. North in men two, then north. What are-talking before?
14. *Walibinga. Ḑawai, mada, jindalgaja. Duni jangun'a. Gara.* 15. *Gangara*
In-camp. Yes, sh!, they-will-talk. This-way let-us-go. West. Up
jangun'a. Wai ŋaba wanadi? Lin'd'ar gaḍi. Gaḍaga walibi wanduguli.
let-us-go. ? water is? Lindjar towards. Tired camp we-two-shall-be.
16. *Gala janguli bugula garal'a. Ḑawai. Mada, jangun'a bala gaḍi wangu.*
Then let-us-two-go early cool. Yes. Sh! let-us-go that to rock.
17. *Ḑana wangu nad'a? Miŋa ganguli. Lani. Gin'anga! Baiar.* 18. *Ḑawai,*
What rock here? Let-us-two-look. Close. That-one! (It is) Baiar. Yes,
gul'a jend'a. N'anyumaḍa muwar. 19. *Ḑaligu gui gad'a Ḑanalu*
south go. Njangumada language. For-us-two meat (is). With-what
d'ingalguli? Warad'a d'ingalguli galiguru. 20. *Ḑaligura gui, d'ungu*
shall-we-two-kill-it? One we-two-shall-kill-it bullroarer. Our-two meat, fire
bulgun. Wan'd'a? Muläl gad'eri. Janguli. D'ungu bulgun. 21. *Lani,*
smoke. Where? Not far. Let-us-two-go. Fire smoke. Close.

niamaringa. Wai yaba? Bala yaba. Wan'd'a? Balaja wangunga. 22. Jalajala.
sand-on. ? water. That water. Where? There stone-on. They-went.
Qawai, gala wanduguli walibi.
 Yes, then let-us-two-be camp.

Translation.

1. Two men were cutting down trees. Who were those two men? They were (the brothers) Gumbur and Gagamara. What sort of trees were they cutting? They were red gums.
 2. What was the one man's purpose? (They were) for bullroarers. The two men talked. "Are we coming back?" (said one). "Yes, we are coming back to my country." "The country of both of us is close. 3. Are you sorry?" "Yes" (replied the other), "Let us hurry." Then by and bye (as they walked, one) saw something. There was a woman in the track. "What shall we do, brother?" (said the one), "Shall we kill her?" "No" (he replied), "she is a wife for both of us. 5. Don't kill her. She is a wife for both of us. We all have the one language." 6. "Yes, it would be wrong of us." (They came up to the woman and she said to them) "You two are my husbands, don't kill me; 7. I am your wife." "Yes" (they replied), "it is all right; you are 'wife,' we are not going to hit that woman."
 8. There was a number of men fighting with boomerangs. "Yes" (said the two brothers), "Let us go close to the men." 9. (The men said to them), "Who are you two?" "We are Gagamara and Gumbur." "What is your country?" "We two belong to Gulumbur." 10. "All right," the men came to each other (i.e. formed a group). 11. What was their purpose? They wanted more food. The other men had not food, 12. no, nothing. "Let us go and look," the group of men were saying. 13. "Who?" "Those two. There are two men over northwards there." "What were they (the mob) talking about before?" 14. "In the camp." "Yes. Sh! Let them talk." "Let us all go this way" (they said). "West. 15. Let us go up." "Is there any water?" (asked some). "In the direction of Lindjar (there is)." "We shall be tired when we reach the camp" (said the two). 16. "Well, then, let us two go early, while it is cool." "All right. Sh! We are (all) going to that rock." 17. "What rock is there here?" "Let us-two have a look." "It is close. There it is! It is Baiar." 18. "Yes, (and now) we are going back." They were talking Njangamada. 19. "There is meat for us two. What shall we kill it with?" "Let us kill one (kangaroo) with a bullroarer." 20. "There is meat for both of us, with fire and smoke." "Where?" "Not far away. Let us both go." Fire (and) smoke, 21. close by, on the sand. "Is there water?" "There is water." "Where?" "There, on the rock." 22. They went to it. "So it is" (they said), "then let us two camp (here)."

Notes.

There is not much difficulty in the text; the difficulty in all the tales lies in deciding who is the speaker in some of the sentences. The narrator gave almost wholly dialogue, impersonating every actor himself, so that the assignment of parts was not always clear, and a good deal of questioning had to be done.

The first text is a general introduction to the two brothers, whose wanderings are the subject of the first five of the ten tales. They are mentioned by Piddington (*Oceania*, Vol. III, p. 51) under the forms Gumbarangor and Gagamaraing. See further in concluding notes to this paper. In sentence 1 the questions are those a hearer might put to the narrator; in

this case began by putting even his introduction in that form, instead of in straightforward narrative. It will be noticed that at this time the bullroarer (*galiguru*) is not a secret object ; Text II explains how it became so. 3. *wai* is an interrogative particle not translatable in English. The word-building processes will be noticed in comparison with the grammar notes, e.g. in 3 *ja-n'-ā-ri* is from a root *ja-*, go, with supplements C. (ii) 7 and 10 combined. So it is a present continuative, "is going." 5. *mulāl dinganagu*, the hypothetical supplement, is often used after the negative imperative ; the person is not sure whether the event is going to happen as yet ! 6. *Jago* is the term applied to sister's husband or wife's brother, as well as to one's own husband. Obviously she could not be the wife of both men. 8. *Balabala*. *bala* is a demonstrative root, but it may point to places as well as persons ; context decides. 9. *Gulumbur* is not on Dr. Elkin's map, but is apparently some spot within Migiga territory. 10. *gin'ānga-raṇu*, plural of *gin'ānga* ; this is the 3rd person pronoun root common in the Dampier Land languages ; *d'ai-ja-wani-ra*, reciprocal (*-wani-*) plural (*-ja*) present (*-ra*), "they are meeting," from *d'ai-*, "come." 11. *gad'a* is a particle used between root and verbal auxiliary, untranslatable, or sometimes, as here, to replace a verb understood. It is found in Njigina and some of the neighbouring languages. 12. *miṛa-d'a gaḍi*, the suffix *d'a* is Supplement A.4, showing that *miṛa*, "look," here has a substantive force ; there is nothing in the word itself to class it as "verb" or "noun," except its function in a given case. Here it takes the object-word supplements. 13. *jan'd'a* : "north." The cardinal points are : N. *jan'd'a* ; S. *gul'a* ; E. *gagara* ; W. *gara*, and these are used rather than a vague "this way," "that way," although the expressions *na:niṇu gan'ana*, "I go this way," and *bala ṇara jangun'a*, "we go that way," are also found. 17. *Miṛa ganguli*, "let us look" : for *miṛa* see 12 above ; *ga-* is "take," *ga-n-gu-li*, "take-shall-we-two" (*-n-*, Supplement C. (11) 5, *-gu*, B. *-li*, C. (i) group). 21. *niamariṅga*, "on the sand," or it can be "hill" : *gumbar* is a rocky hill, *niamari* a sand dune.

A few texts relating to social institutions as established by these brothers follow. They should be compared with notes in Piddington's articles.

TEXT II. THE BULLROARER FORBIDDEN TO WOMEN.

1. *Bala gad'a wiḍi mārī jaḍa d'andolu. Ḑawai, mabu gin'ānga.* 2. *Lani*
That is playing shield woman. Yes, good she. Close
janguli. Ḑaḍu n'undu ? Ḑad'u D'ābuga ; ṇad'u gabali n'undugu. 3. *Ḑawai.*
let-us-two-go. Who you? I Djābuga ; I wife for-you. Yes.
Jangun'a gul'a. Wan'd'a gaḍi ? Ḑunia. Wan'd'a gaḍi ṇura ? Mendar 4. *W'ai*
Let-us-go south. Where to? Over-here. Where to country? Mendar. ?
ṇaba ? Ḑaba waṇadi. Wai nagula ? Jindanbula. Nad'a lani. 5. *Garagara*
water? Water is. ? salt-water? They-two-say. Here close. West
bala. Ḑanagu gui ? Jangun'a. Gara jan'aja. Gangara niamariṅga jangun'a.
there. What-for meat? Let-us-go. West they-go. Up hill-on let-us-go.
6. *Gangara niamariṅga jangun'a. Ḑawai. Ḑana gui ? Bilaxwila. Ḑana ṇura*
Up hill-on let-us-go. Yes What meat? Sole. What country
nad'a ? Ḑabal'a. 7. *Jangun'a gangara, gangara gul'a. W'alibi wandugun'a.*
here? Ngabelja. Let-us-go up, up that-way. camp let-us-stay.
8. *Ḑawai, gui, gui.* 9. *Wiṇini ! Jandan ṇala-gu. Gui ṇan'd'orogu.*
Yes, meat, meat. Emu ! I'll kill it. Meal for-us.

10. *Gambalgujanan. Jaya marin gui, wai.* 11. *Gala gamba, mabu. Wan'd'a*
We'll cook it. You take-out meat, eh! Now cooked, good. Where
jangun'a? *Gangara, gumbara gaḍi. Warug jangun'a. Wai ḡaba?* *ḡai, ḡaba*
shall-we-go? Up, stone to. Quickly let-us-go. ? water? Yes, water
wanadi. 12. *Malu gui wanadi ḡabanga. Nana gui?* *Wiḡini. N'undu*
is. Plenty creatures are water-at. What creatures? Emus. You
jāra ḡuni gara, ḡad'u na:raḡu. 13. *N'undu, d'ando, maḡa wandaja. Lani jārā*
go this-way west, I around. You, woman, sitting be. Close go
gud'ara marḡu. Mamurumuru. ḡanalū? *Galiguru.* 14. *Gud'ara warain waran'd'u*
two men. Threw (at it). What-with? Bullroarer. Two one one
marḡu. Gui ḡaligu. Wiḡiri malguli walibi gaḍi. D'ando, d'unḡu bunala,
man. Meat for-us-two. Play we shall have camp-at. Womar, fire light-for-it
wuḡu d'unḡu. Malu nad'a gui. 15. *ḡawai, jārani warad'a. Bunalguli nad'a*
big fire. Plenty here meat. Yes come one. Let-us-two-light here
d'unḡu. Malbara ḡad'u d'unḡu. 16. *ḡawai. Bidi d'ālguli wuḡu bidi, gui gamba*
fire. Not-like I fire. Yes. Hole let-us-put big hole, meat cook
ḡala. 17. *Gala, d'ālgun'a d'uranga. D'ubalabala. Mada, gamba ḡala.*
then. Right, let-us-put-it oven-in. Cover-it-up. Ah, cooked then.
18. *Gud'ara marḡu, waḡalaḡu, gangara gumbaraḡa. Jān'āribula?* *ḡawai.*
Two men, youths, up rocks-on. Are-they-two-coming? Yes.
Wan'd'a gaḍi? *Na:niḡu.* 19. *Wan'd'a?* *Lani jān'āribula,* *ḡan'd'oro gaḍi.*
Where to? This way. Where? Close they-two-are-coming, us to.
Binbin, Nāl'abiga jāraniḡula. 20. *Nad'a gaḍi maḡa. Wai gui gamba ḡālaia?*
Binbin, Nāljbiga they-two-come. Here to sit. ? meat cooked now?
Jaya mala. 21. *Wambar nad'a naḡud'ara waḡalaḡu. N'umbalagu warain gui;*
Take-it out. Hungry here these-two youths. For-you-two the meat;
ḡaraḡun'. 22. *Mabu. Gad'eri ḡuru jān'āl'a. Wan'd'a gaḍi?* *ḡuni gaḍi jan'd'a.*
eat-it-all. Good. Far from we-two-came. Where to? Hither to north.
N'ura wan'd'a gaḍi? 23. *ḡan'a gul'a. Wai n'umbala galiguru?* *Mulāl. A! Wai*
You where to? We south. ? you-two bull-roarers? No. Ah! Here
n'umbala gud'ara galiguru. Mirāringu gawabula. 23. *Galaia, gala n'umbala. Gala*
you-two two bullroarers. In-hand carry-them. Now then you-two. Now
jārabula; gala ḡan'a.
you-two-go; now we.
24. *Bala miḡa gan'ana malu d'ando. Wan'd'anga?* *Gul'agul'a, bala gul'a,*
There I-look-at plenty women. Where-at? Southwards, there south,
wuḡunga niamari. 25. *Bun'd'a jangun'a, bara malajagu. D'āgaḍ, d'āgaḍ, d'āgaḍ,*
on-big hill. Slow let-us-go, lest-they-run-away. Sneak, sneak, sneak,
lani. Marḡu, marḡu walan'u, malulu d'ando jindanaja. 26. *Warad'a d'ando. Mabu.*
close. men, men strange, plenty women talking. One woman. Good.
Maḡru gud'ara mabu mulāl guli d'adu. 27. *Gaga; d'ābulu, gaga d'ābulu n'uragura.*
Men two good not injure. Uncle, father, uncle, father yours.
ḡawai, ḡan'agura. 28. *Mulāl ḡan'a wulgu. Wan'd'a gaḍi n'ura?* *Nad'a gaḍi. Nad'a*
Yes, ours. Not we afraid. Where to you? Here to. Here
galiguru. 29. *Jalajala, Gaḡunbidi. Gara jangun'a d'urar gaḍi. ḡana gad'a bala?*

bullroarers. Jalajala, Gadunbidi. West let-us-go sea to. What — that?
D'ungu, bulgun. 30. *O! Marŋu wanadaja gaŋa. D'ungu jālira. Binbin(ŋ)ga*
 Fire, smoke. Oh! Men are west. Fire in-front. Al-Binbin
jangun'a. Jālira marŋu. Gagara, gud'ara marŋu, warad'a d'ando. 31. *Gagamara,*
 let-us-go. In-front men. East, two men, one woman. *Gagamara,*
Gumbar. Bala jän'araja. Ŋaduranyu? Ŋanana ŋan'a. 32. *Wan'd'a ŋuru?*
 Gumbar. There they-go. Who (are-they?) Let-us-see. Where from?
Gad'äri ŋuru ŋura, Jän'd'a . . . 33. *Wan'd'a gađi jän'ärijuru? Ŋuni gađi*
 Far from country, North . . . Where to you-are-going? This-way to
ŋura. 34. *Galaia. Maŋdi ŋan'a, gul'a. Miŋa galula. Marŋu! Wan'd'a?*
 country. So. Go-on we south. Let-us-see-them. Men! Where?
Balabala gul'a. Jängun'a balaguru gađi marŋu. 35. *Ŋana marŋu gala? Ŋal'a*
 There south. Let-us-go those to men. What men now? We-two
d'adu muwar. Ŋawai, balabala jän'araja. Walan'u, warad'a d'ando.
 no-good language. Yes, there — they-come. Strangers, one woman.
Gin'angud'ara. 36. *Go! Järanaja lani, nad'a gađi wandugun'a. Muwar*
 They-two. Oh! They-come close, here to let-us-camp. Talk
bina gariguna. Gagad'eri d'anga ŋura. 37. *Gagaranyu, jan'arajana, jindaribula*
 we-shall-hear. Far at country. Uncles, we come. They-two-said
d'anagu: 38. *Ŋana n'umbala? Ŋal'a garimba gud'ara.* 39. *Mabu; ŋana d'ando?*
 to-them. What you-two? We-two Karimba two. Good; what woman?
Bal'eri. Ŋadugura jago? Ŋal'agura. Wai n'uralu bałarijugu galiguru? Ŋawai,
Palyeri. Whose? Our-two. ? you are-cutting bullroarers? Yes
nad'a bałarajana. 40. *Mabu. N'ura marŋu, muläl d'uguđu. Wan'da naranu?*
 here we-are-cutting. Good. You men, not children. Where those?
Ŋuniŋuni. 41. *Waran'd'agu ŋaba. Wan'd'a gađi n'unbula? Ŋal'a ŋuni gađi maŋdi.*
 Over-there. At-another water. Where to you-two? We-two hither to going.
 42. *Galaia ŋal'a bul'i ŋal'a d'ängala. Ŋuni gađi jän'aril'a; wandugul'a ŋal'a.*
 Now we-two tired we-two legs. Hither to we-two-go; will-camp we-two.
 43. *Galaia, n'ura maŋa nad'anga. Gala ŋal'a maŋdi. Wawugu jängun'a.* 44. *Wan'd'a?*
 Now, you sit here. Then we-talk-to-you. Quickly let-us-go. Where?
Bala ŋaligura ŋura; Gumbara wanadi, gangara wuđu gumbara. Bala lani wanadi.
 That our-two country; Gumbara it-is, up big rock. That close is.
Da'la baŋa manguli ŋala. 45. *Wan'd'anga baŋa manguli? Jurgaragara. Ŋawai.*
 Now let-us-two-men. Where shall-we-two-run? Evening. Yes.
Nad'a ŋaligura ŋura, babala. Nad'a wanadaja. 46. *Garibila, d'ando. Minmala*
 Here our-two country, brother. Here (they) are. Stay-still, woman. Wait
ŋal'agu. Mabu d'alguł'a ŋura balamuru. 47. *Ŋawai. Gala mabu*
 for-us-two. Good we-two-shall-get country fix-up. Yes. Now good
d'anbali. Järani, d'ando, miŋa ga ŋura, gangara, ganiŋ. Ŋiribiri. Gad'dri
 we-have-set-it. Come, woman, look-at country, up, down. *Ngiribiri. Far*
janul'a ŋala. 48. *D'a:la jindärił'angu. Nad'a muläl d'andogu.* 49. *N'iräni*
 we-two-went then. Now we-talk-to-you. Here not for-woman. Behind
d'anga d'ando, muläl muwar. Muläl nad'agu n'anan'a galiguru. 50. *Marŋulu man'an,*
 at woman, not talk. Not for-here see bullroarer. Men only,

muläl d'andolu. D'amaļ d'ando. Maryugura. Id'a, muläl mun'd'u, 'dingalajana
 not women. Quiet woman. Men's. True, not lie, we-shall-kill-you.
n'irinagu. Muläl jindalan'd'anagu d'ando. 51. Mabu n'undo d'ando, n'undu muläl
 Not you-tell-them women. Good you woman, you not
muwar(i)di. Gun'ungun'in mana nan'd'oro, warad'a bari d'ando, wandugun'a
 be-talking. Gunjungunjin stay we, one perhaps woman we-shall-camp
nad'anga nura. 52. Gul'a, gagara, muläl muwar n'undu.
 here country. South, east, not talk you.

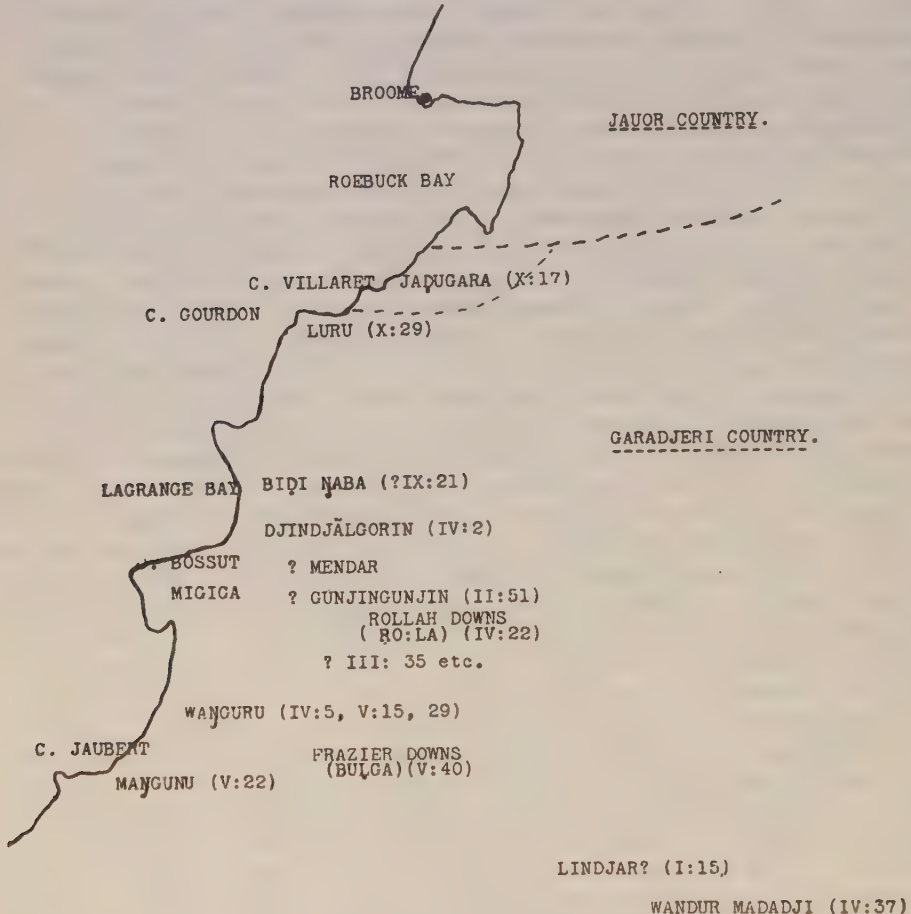


Fig. 1. Map of Garadjeri horde countries (after Professor Elkin).
 Only places mentioned in the texts are marked.

Translation.

1. "There is a woman playing with a shield." "Yes, she looks good. 2. Let us go up close." (The two approach the woman and one asks): "Who are you?" "I am Djäbuga" (she replied), "I am wife to you." 3. "So" (said one man), "Let us (all) go that way." "Where shall we go?" "Over there." "What country shall we go to?" "To Mendar." 4. "Is there water there?" "Yes, there is water." "Is there salt water too?" The two men talk together. "Yes, close by here, 5. over to the west." "What meat shall we go for?" They all went westwards. 6. "We'll go up to the hills" (they said). "All right." "What meat is there?" "Some sole." "What country is this here?" "(This is) Ngabalja." 7. "Let us go up, up that way, and camp there." 8. "All right, (I see) an animal, an animal. 9. It's an emu! I'll kill it." "It will be meat for us all. 10. We shall cook it. Eh, you're taking the food out?" (this to the woman). 11. "Ah! it's cooked now, good!" (After the meal, one says) "Where shall we go?" "Up, on to the stones. Let's go quickly." "Is there any water?" "Yes, there is water, 12. and there are plenty of animals at the water." "What sort?" "Emus. You go that way, I'll go around. 13. You, woman, keep sitting there." The two men went up close. One threw at (an emu). With what? With a bullroarer. 14. One man got three. "There's meat for us" (he said), "now we can have a corroboree in the camp. Woman, get a fire ready for it, a big fire. There is plenty of meat here." 15. "Yes, come on, one of you" (the woman said), we-two will make a fire here. I am tired (of making) fire." 16. "All right, let us-two dig an oven, a big oven and cook the meat." 17. "All right, we will put it in the hole and cover it up." "There, now it is cooked."

18. "There are two young men up there on the rocks." "Are they coming?" "Yes." "Which way?" "Here." 19. "Where?" "The two of them are coming close to us." "The two who are coming are Binbin and Näljabiga." 20. "Sit down here. Is the food cooked now? Take it out. 21. These two youths here are hungry. Here is food for you two. Eat it all up." 22. "Good" (replied the youths), "we have come from afar." "Where are you going?" "We are going up north." "Where are you (three) going?" "We are going south." "Have you two got bullroarers?" "No." "Ah! Well, here are two bullroarers for you. Carry them in your hands. 23. There you are, you two. Now off you go, we shall be moving too."

24. (One of the two original men said) "I see a number of women there." "Where?" (said the other). "Down south, that way on the big hill." 25. "Let us go slowly, lest they run away; sneak, sneak, sneak up close." 26. The group of women said, "There are strange men coming, with one woman. Don't let us do any harm to the two men." 27. (The two men and the woman reach the mob and say) "We are your uncle, your father, your uncle, your father." "Yes," they reply, "belonging to us. We are not afraid." "Where are you going?" "This way. Here are bullroarers. 29. (That way lies) Jalajala (that way), Gadunbidi. Let us go over westwards towards the sea. What's that?" "Fire, smoke." 30. There are men to the west. "There's fire again. Let us make for Binbin." "Men once again; there, two men and one woman." 36. "They are Gagamara and Gumbar." "There they go" (said the brothers); "who are they?" "Let us see, 32. where (do you people) come from?" "From a far country northwards we come. 33. Where are you going?" "We are going to this country." 34. "So; we are going on southwards. We

are going looking . . . " Men ! " " Where ? " " To the south. " " Let us go to those men. 35. What men are they ? " " We cannot understand their language. " (Meanwhile the men were saying) " Yes, there they go ; strangers, with one woman. There are two (men). " 36. " Oh, they are coming close ; let us make a camp here. We shall hear their talk. " 37. " Uncles we, are coming from a far country " the two said to them : 38. " What are you two ? " " We are Karimba men. " 39. " Good ; what is the woman ? " " She is Paljeri. " " Whose wife's mother's mother ? " " Belonging to the two of us . . . Are you people cutting bullroarers ? " " Yes, we are cutting them here. " 40. " Good. Now, you are men, not children. " " Where are your wives ? " " Just across here, 41. at another water-hole. Where are you two going ? " " We are making this way, 42. but we are both knocked up, we'll go just over here and make a camp. 43. Now, you fellows sit here and we will go. Let us go quickly. " 44. " Where ? " " That is our country, Gumbara, up amongst big hills. It is not far. " " Then let us two run away to-day. " 45. " Where shall we run ? It is evening. " " Yes, here is the country of us-two, brother. Here they are. 46. Woman, you stand still. Wait for us-two here. We shall fix the place up properly. " 47. " All right. " " There, we have fixed it up properly. Come along, woman, look at the place, up and down ; it is Ngiribiri. We-two came a long way then. 48. Now, we are telling you. This place is taboo for women. 49. Women are to stay behind, and not talk. They are not to see bullroarers here. 50. It is for men alone, not women ; women must keep quiet. The place belongs to men. That is the truth, it is no lie, and we shall kill you (if you break the rule). You (i.e. the woman in the story) are not to tell the women. 51. You are a good woman, you are not to be talking about it. We sit down at Gunjingunjin, along with perhaps one woman, and we shall camp here in this country, 52. southwards and eastwards, and don't you say a word ! "

Notes.

There is no historical connection between this and the preceding texts, nor indeed between texts at all. 1. *jada* is a small, light shield ; the heavier type is *garbina*, a word common as far east as the Ord River. *widi mari*, lit. " is having a game, " auxil. *ma* with *-ri*, Supplement C. (ii) 10. The following sentence is a remark by one of the brothers, who catches sight of her. The other then takes up the dialogue. 2. *Djäbuga* is mentioned in this connection by Piddington (*Oceania*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 51). *gabali*, " wife, " the relationship, not the actuality. A man speaks of *ɲad'ugura d'ando*, " my woman, " for " my wife. " 3. *Mendar* is not mentioned on the map. Note the insistence on water before they attempt to go to any place mentioned. 6. The word *gui* or *goi* (with close *o*) is often difficult to translate ; it means any animals, reptile or fish, according to context, as is the ordinary word given for " kangaroo. " It also means " flesh food, " as against *mai*, vegetable food. Here it is " fish, " referring to *bila:wila*, a sole. *Ngabalja* country is also missing from the map, but *ɲura* is again a difficult word ; it may mean one's horde-country, one's camp (though this is generally *walibi*), or just " a place. " 12. *na:raɲu*, is the plural of *na-*, " this, " which takes a number of different supplements in different meanings. Here *na:raɲu* is " these (parts), " " around here. " Other compounds are : *na:ni-ɲu*, this way, *na-ɲu*, that way (the *-ni-* in the first case is C. (ii) 6, " this way "), *na-d'a*, " here " (A.4) and *na-d'a-ɲga*, " here, at this spot, " with *-ɲga*, A.9. 13. *jāra* is *jā-ra*, C.(ii) 11, but without person sign (here it would be *jā-ra-bula*), as often. 14. *widiri*, " playing, " i.e. a corroboree which is not taboo to women, called in pidgin " play

corroboree." So *Gwi:ni* (Forrest River) people say *malga biriam*, "they play," for "they are having a non-sacred corroboree." 18. *wayalayu*, "youth," in general; it is not an age-grade. The word is common throughout the Northern Kimberley languages in the same sense. 24. *Bala* again in a local sense, "there." Note *malu d'ando*, "many women," not *d'ando-rayu*, as the plural is implied in *malu*. But Njigina would still say *d'ando-nil*. 29. The two names were explained as place names, but the connection is not quite clear. Dr. Elkin has Kandungabidi as No. 30 on the map; this may be *faḍuḅbidi*. 30. *gagara* is really "east," and is so given in vocabularies I collected in other languages, e.g. Jülbre, south of Fitzroy Crossing. 36. *gagad'eri*, the partial reduplication of *gad'eri* adds a degree of emphasis. 37. Is spoken by the brothers, introducing themselves to the men of the party they have fallen in with. *Garimba* and 39. *Bal'eri* are of course the inter-marrying pair of sections often written *Karimba* and *Paldjeri* respectively. There is actually some variation in the pronunciation of the second. (This is not Piddington's story, but a local version with correct marriage divisions. In Piddington's account the woman is Panaka.) *Jago* is normally "husband" or "wife's brother," but may also be the wife's mother's mother, which must be the meaning here if the woman be referred to. 40. *narayu* "those," is a reference to the women of the party the brothers have met; they are not yet visible. The answer *ḡuniḡuni* would be given with a pout of the lips in direction intended. 42. *bul'i . . . d'āḡgala*, "tired (as regards the) legs," is the usual native way of expressing "tired with walking"; *d'āḡgala* is a common word throughout the southern Fitzroy area for the lower leg. 51. *Gunḡingunjin*: see again in Text V, 30, where this place is claimed by the brothers as *yura*. It is not shown on the map.

(To be continued)

A. CAPELL.

Australia : Archaeology.**McCarthy.**

Records of Rock Engravings in the Sydney District : XXXIX-XL. By F. D. McCarthy, *Dip. Anthr., Curator of Anthropology, The Australian Museum, Sydney.*

GROUP 39. (Plates C and E.)

Site. This group is situated at the head of Morris's Run, a valley running westward from St. Alban's, Macdonald River, parish of St. Alban's, in the county of Northumberland. My attention was drawn to it by the Rev. G. Neville. The valley is several miles in length, with high, steep-sided ridges along both sides, and the engravings are situated on a broad saddle reached by an easy ascent at the head of the valley. The main group is engraved on a long and broken rock surface, running east and west, overlooking the above valley. On the southern side of the saddle is the deep and wide valley of Webb's Creek, and two other engravings described are on this side of the ridge.

The figures extend for approximately two hundred feet in an east to west line in conformity with the direction of the rock surfaces, which are either flat or undulating and separated by patches of soil bearing scrubby vegetation and eucalypts.

Description. From the eastern end is to be seen a line of eight human footprints, up to 15 in. long and 7 in. wide, extending from one end to the other of the group, along its northern side. Two others point across this line (towards series B and C). Ten feet to the south of the footprints, at the eastern end, is an unsexed human figure 4 ft. long, with the two eyes at an oblique angle, no fingers or toes, and bulbous ends on the arms, figured in a twisted but somewhat active pose. The main group of figures, Pl. E., Fig. 4 about one hundred feet west,

begins with a broad human figure (Pl. E, Fig. 5) 5 ft. 7 in. long, which could be a male or a female, wearing a girdle, whose limbs are also minus digits. A third human figure, 5 ft. 7 in. long, is to be seen in the top right corner of this group. It appears to be a man in a dancing posture, with an indeterminate appendage on each leg, also wearing a girdle. Above him is an undulating line almost 9 ft. long, with two appendages, very much like the belly, neck and nose of a kangaroo. It ends in a head-like shape, with two pits which might be the eyes. Above the latter pits are two short parallel lines 3 and 4 in. long. In the middle of the group is an indeterminate though fish-like, figure 1 ft. 5 in. long, below which is an imperfect emu 11 ft. long. Inside the emu is a kangaroo's head and forequarters, 1 ft. $\times$ 2 ft. 6 in. in size, with a curious triangular figure at the end of the dorsal line and a crescentic appendage continuing downward from the ventral neck line. There is another kangaroo, 7 ft. long, at the western end. Its pose is conventional and is somewhat like that of a dead animal lying on the ground. Finally, what is apparently a headless koala, 1 ft. long, is engraved below the line of human footprints. It will be noted that the human figures and the kangaroo and koala are life-size, the human footprints are enlarged, and the emu is much larger than natural size.

Technique and Preservation. The well preserved outlines are up to 1 in. wide and from $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ in. deep. They are all smooth, though punctures are visible in the grooves, and it is difficult to decide whether the smoothing is due to weathering or rubbing.

Interpretation. (A) This group appears to have been connected with initiation. Two of the human figures are life-size, and the third one (at the eastern end), which is only 4 ft. long, in my opinion represents a boy undergoing initiation. The footprints or *mundoes* represent a spiritual ancestor's track, and the totems concerned are emu, kangaroo and koala.

(B) On the southern side of the same ridge, about one-quarter of a mile to the south-east of series A, is a rough-surfaced rock exposure on the rim of the valley overlooking Webb's Creek. On this rock is a crude and very enlarged engraving in profile of a bird, 6 ft. long, like a quail or a pigeon, both of which inhabit the ridge. The rock is very dark in colour and the figure is difficult to discern. Its punctured outline is $\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide and up to $\frac{3}{16}$ in. deep (Pl. C, Fig. 2; Pl. E, Fig. 6).

(C) Sixty yards eastward from series B along the edge of the ridge is an engraving of a gigantic koala, 7 ft. 6 in. long. It is also in profile in an upright pose, indicating that it is either standing or clinging to a tree trunk. There is a pair of short parallel lines engraved between its head and forepaws. The well preserved outline of this unusually fine figure is 1 in. wide and up to $\frac{1}{4}$ in. deep, and it consists of conjoined punctures (Pl. C, Fig. 3; Pl. E, Fig. 3).

Remarks. It is generally believed that gigantic figures of animals, such as the emu, bird and koala at this site, are portrayals of dream-time creatures. The abovementioned pairs of short parallel lines occur elsewhere but their significance is not known.

Recorded by the author, 28 March, 1944.

GROUP 40. (Plates D and E.)

Site. This important group, now reserved, is situated on a saddle between two deep and rugged gorges almost a mile from the Wollombi-Singleton road. At a point four miles north of Wollombi (opposite a Mr. Williams' farm) a track leads across Cockfighter Creek, on the eastern side of the road, then up a steep ridge, which it follows for about one-third of a mile to the engravings. The rock surface, about one acre in area, extends right across the saddle

ROCK ENGRAVINGS OF THE SYDNEY DISTRICT.

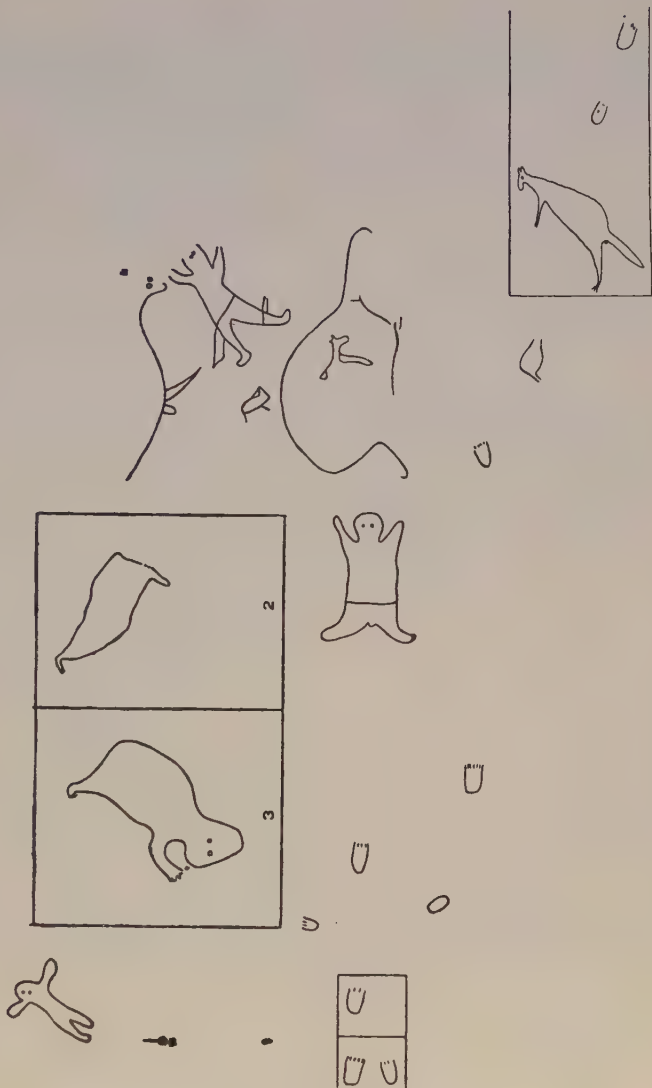


Plate C, illustrating Series A, B and C of Group 39. Scale : 1 inch = 2 feet.

ROCK ENGRAVINGS OF THE SYDNEY DISTRICT.

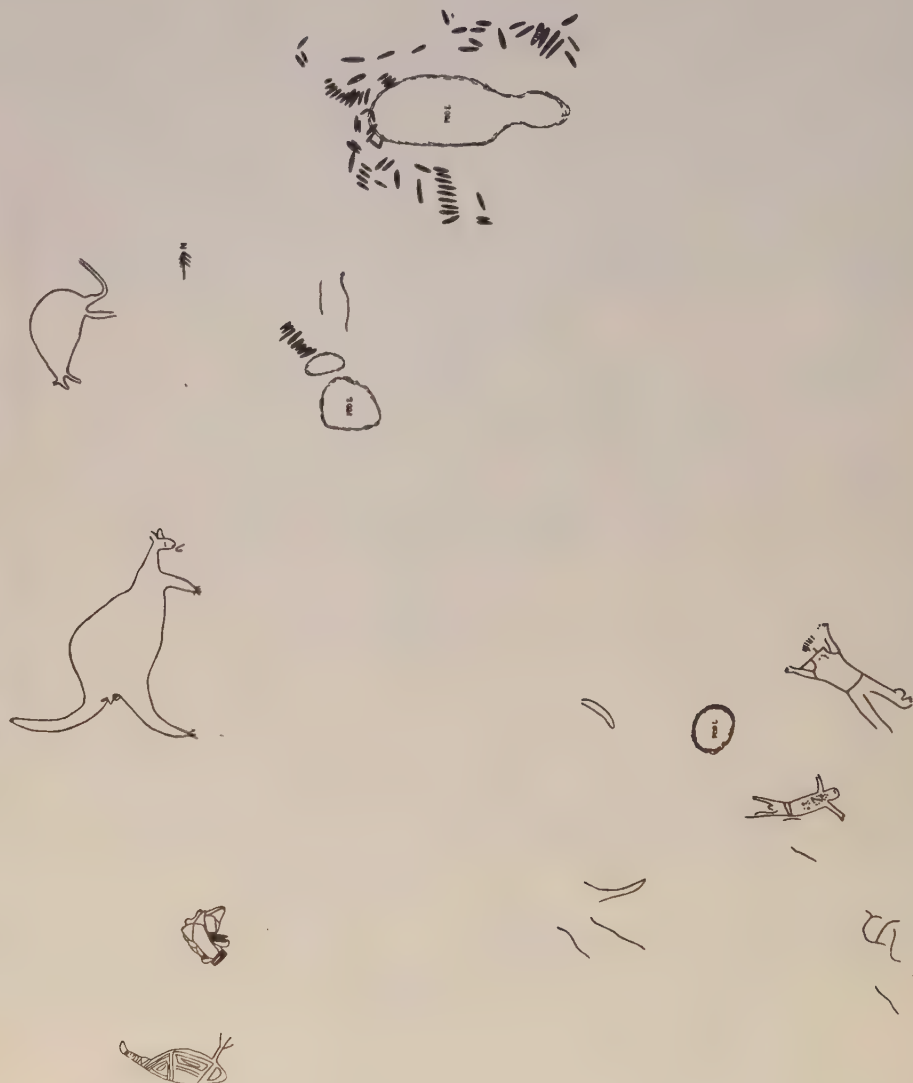


Plate D, illustrating figures in Group 40. Scale: 1 inch=2 feet.

ROCK ENGRAVINGS OF THE SYDNEY DISTRICT.

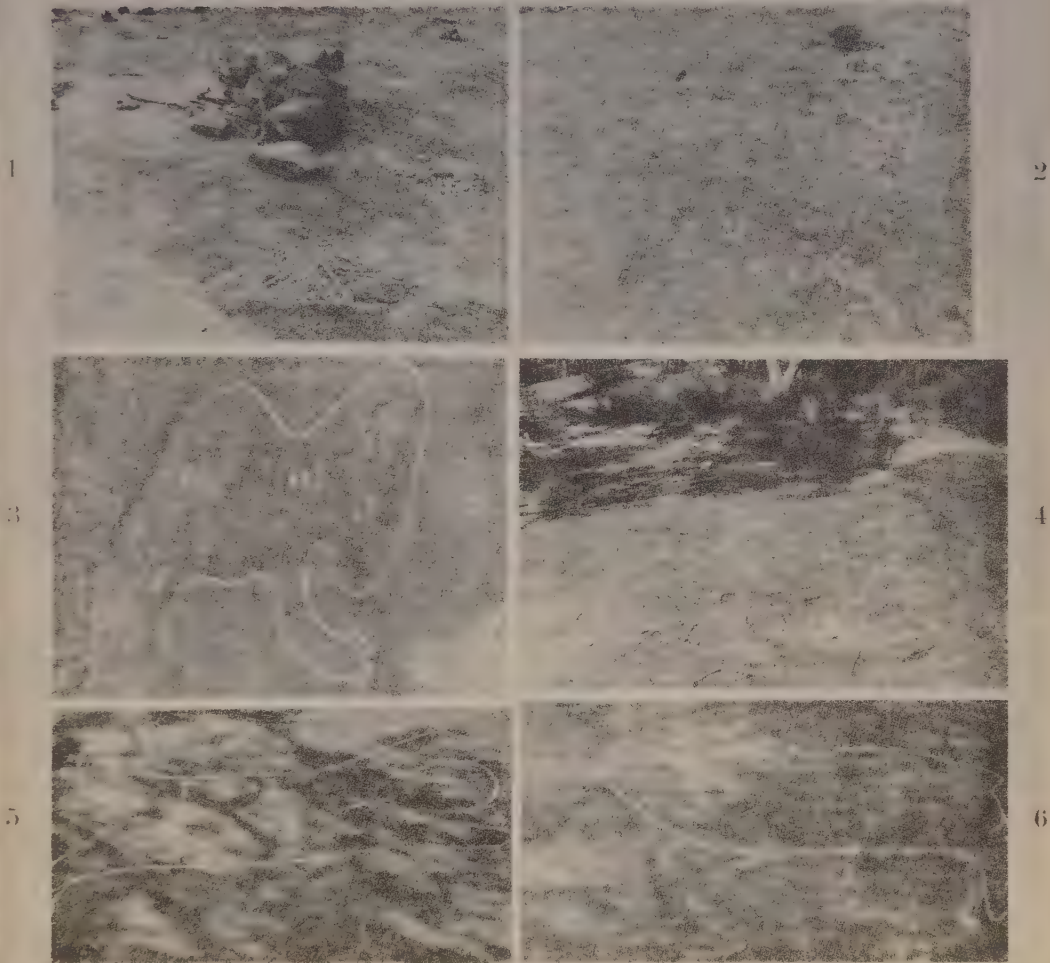


Plate E, Figs. 1-6, illustrating various figures in Groups 39 and 40.
(See text for explanation.)

ABORIGINAL STONE ARRANGEMENTS, S.E. QUEENSLAND.

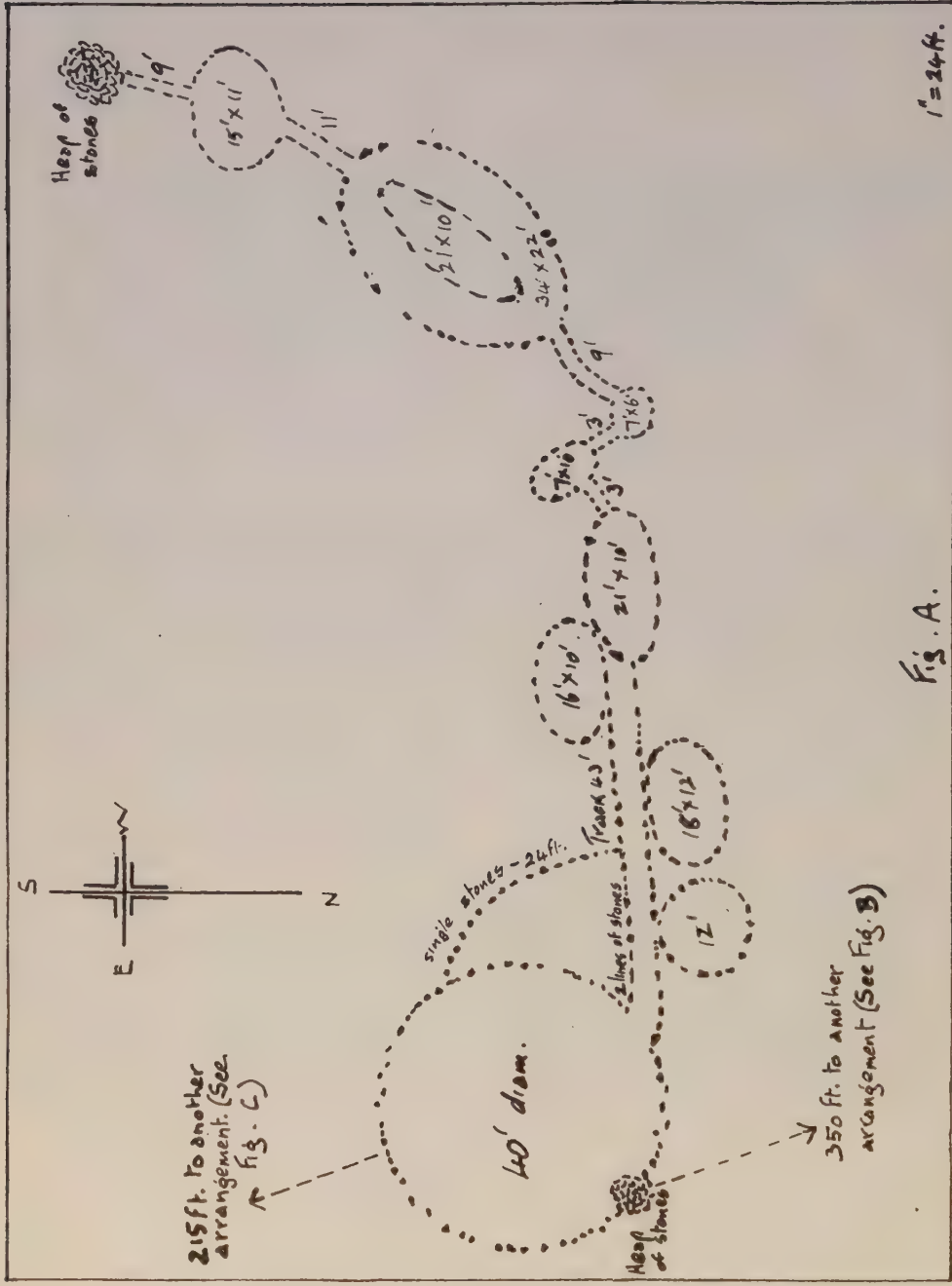


Fig. A.

and contains a number of pot-holes which hold water during the dry summer. It is in the parish of Corrabare, county of Northumberland, and my attention was drawn to it by Mr. W. J. Enright.

Description. On the eastern side of the group, at its southern end, is an unique figure of an emu (Pl. E, Fig. 1) 5 ft. long, engraved on a flat and smooth portion of the outcrop. It is not very well drawn from the purely artistic point of view but its great importance lies in the concentric triangle and trapeze pattern engraved on its body, and the parallel line design on its neck. A few feet north of this emu is a low cairn, 2 ft. 6 in. in diameter, of flat slabs of sandstone, some of which are standing on one edge. Ten feet northward, on the convex crown of the rock surface, is engraved a magnificent buck kangaroo, 9 ft. 6 in. long, sitting upright on its tail and hind legs, with the end of a boomerang beside its face. This is a very well proportioned kangaroo and the engraving exhibits a skilful knowledge of line-work on the part of the artist. Further northward is another kangaroo, probably a doe, and both westward and beyond it are two series of axe-grinding grooves. There are eight beside two shallow pot-holes, and approximately seventy beside a fairly deep pot-hole nine feet long.

On the western side of the group is a series of figures comprising a non-returning boomerang, some odd lines of indeterminate figures, and two unusual portrayals of men, reversed in relation to one another. Both are obviously in ceremonial garb. The smaller one, 4 ft. 6 in. long, is wearing either a double girdle or a wide belt, and on his chest and abdomen are to be seen numerous punctures representing painted dots. The larger one, 5 ft. 10 in. long, adorned with a girdle and armlets, is notable for a swelling on one ankle, four eyes, and the straight line across the top of his head, above which is a rayed forehead band (Pl. E, Fig. 2). Both figures are in action poses.

Technique and Preservation. All of these figures have conjoined punctured outlines up to 1 in. wide, which are now somewhat weathered, particularly the human figure series in which the rayed man is now difficult to discern. Very few punctures can be seen in the grooves of the emu and large kangaroo, which might have been rubbed.

Interpretation. This group is apparently of ritual significance, as evidenced by the two men in ceremonial decoration and the cairn of stones. It is possible that one of the men has thrown a boomerang at the giant kangaroo, whose pose suggests the last-ditch stand characteristic of these animals. Thus the group might represent a dream-time incident. The association of emus and kangaroos in ritual groups is very common in the Sydney-Hawkesbury district. The emu in this group is the first record of an engraving bearing a geometrical pattern within its outline. Such line designs are characteristic of the decorative art on portable objects like wooden weapons, sacred boards and carved trees in south-eastern Australia. This decorated emu thus forms the only known link between the two kinds of art. Attention might also be drawn to the association of axe-grinding grooves with the engravings, indicating, as I have before stated (1948, pp. 30-31), a cultural connection between the two traits.

Recorded by the author, 1 May, 1944.

REFERENCES TO LITERATURE

- McCarthy, F. D. Records of the Rock Engravings in the Sydney District: I-VII, MANKIND, III, 1941, pp. 42-56, pls. g-m; VIII, III, 1945, pp. 161-71, Figs. 1-11; XXI-XXXII, III, 1945, pp. 266-74, pls. T-U; XXXIII-XXXVII, III, 266-72, pls. Z, AA; XXXVIII, 1947, pp. 322-29, pl. AD.
 McCarthy, F. D. The Lapstone Creek Excavation: Two Culture Periods Revealed in Eastern New South Wales. *Rec. Austr. Mus.*, XXII, 1948, pp. 1-34, pls. i-iv, figs. 1-91.

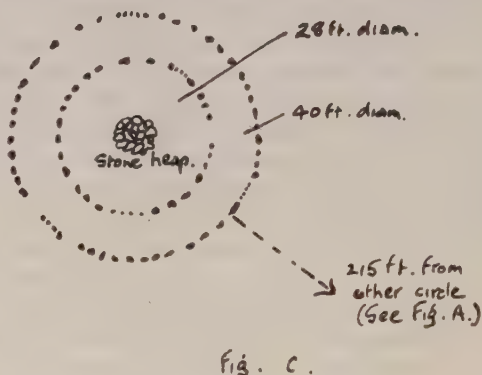
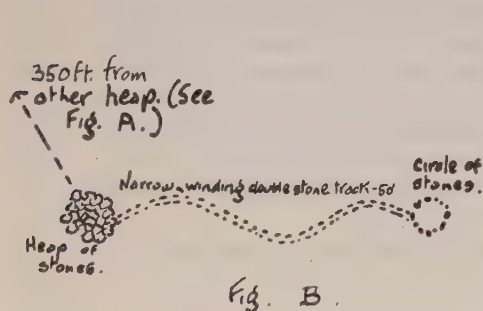
F. D. MCCARTHY.

Australia : Archaeology.**Winterbotham.**

Aboriginal Stone Arrangements, Darling Downs Area, South-eastern Queensland. By L. P. Winterbotham, M.B., B.S.

In November, 1948, the author, accompanied by Mr. George Kerr, inspected and recorded a number of Aboriginal stone arrangements on the latter's property near Kogan, a township in the Darling Downs, south-eastern Queensland, approximately 170 miles by road, west of Brisbane.

The arrangements are on the flat surface of a natural clearing, on top of a long well wooded ridge lying between Kogan Creek and Branch Creek. The top of this ridge appears to consist of flat tables of stone, in some places covered by earth to a depth of six inches and in other places quite bare of any covering. The site has been known for at least fifty years, but it was not recognized by local residents as an Aboriginal ceremonial ground. Short timber, mostly Lancewood, grows where it can, and separates several similar natural clearings ; we inspected a number of these but found only two adjacent ones showing evidence of having



been used as a ceremonial site. About two hundred yards to the south-east of this site there is a well-defined semi-circular wall of rock about twenty feet high, from which the ground falls steeply into the adjacent valley.

The stones composing the arrangement measure roughly six inches by four inches. Some of them are almost covered with earth, some lie half buried, and the remainder lie loose on the bare rock surface. Here and there the circles are incomplete, only three or four stones remaining, and it is believed that there were originally many more such arrangements than those shown on the diagram, but in view of their present dilapidated state no record of these was attempted. The sketches which accompany this article (see Figs. A, B, C) are drawn to scale and represent the stone arrangement as it now stands in plan view.

Approximately 50 miles east by south of the Kogan site, the author inspected another Aboriginal stone arrangement at Kulpi, a township in the Darling Downs, south-eastern Queensland, 115 miles by road west of Brisbane. This occurs on an undulating rise on the property of Mr. Luecht and was discovered by him in the middle of the scrub which he was clearing.

The stones are partially buried and two large ironbark trees have grown up in the middle of a central ring of stones measuring six feet in diameter. From this central ring two pear-

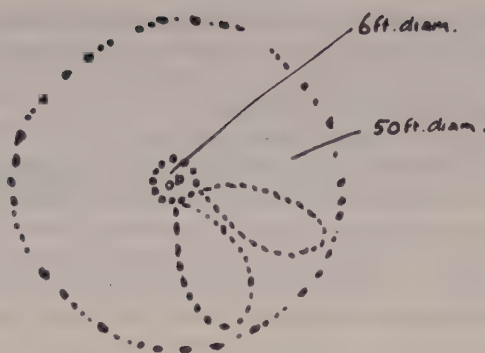


Fig. D.

shaped rings of stones radiate. A large ring of stones 50 feet in diameter encloses the three smaller arrangements. The general outline of this Kulpi arrangement appears in Fig. D, which is drawn to scale and represents a plan view of all that remains of a once larger site.

L. P. WINTERBOTHAM.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES :

Annual Report of the Anthropological Society of N.S.W., 1948. *Summary of the report delivered at the annual meeting of the Society, 22nd November, 1948.*

The Council has pleasure in submitting to members the twentieth annual report for the year ended 30th September, 1948.

Total membership has now increased to 138 and comprises two life members, seven honorary life members and 129 ordinary members.

During the year the following new members were elected : Mr. F. H. Molony, Dr. L. P. Winterbotham, Mr. J. C. McInnes, Mr. G. M. Boes, Mr. J. Burchett, Mr. E. H. McGaw, Mr. C. J. Norcross, Mr. S. Lipson, Mr. E. A. Watkins, Mr. A. K. Wylie and Mr. D. R. Wylie.

Three members resigned, and we regret to record the deaths of two members : Mr. W. D. Gillespie of Killara and Mr. F. H. Miller of Glenorie.

Five general meetings were held during the year at the Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney, and the following lecture programme was arranged :

1947—

November 5th.—The Annual General Meeting. Presidential Address by Dr. A. Capell, M.A., Ph.D., entitled "The Heart of New Guinea."

1948—

March 2nd.—An address on "An archaeological expedition to southern Mexico," illustrated with a coloured talking film, by Mr. Frank Setzler, Ph.B., of the Smithsonian Institution ; and an exhibition of Aboriginal art from Arnhem Land, collected by Mr. and Mrs. R. M. Berndt.

May 18th.—An illustrated lecture on present-day life on Palau, Caroline Islands, by Dr. A. Capell, M.A., Ph.D., entitled "In the Wake of the Japanese."

July 27th.—A lecture by Mr. R. M. Berndt, entitled "Alien Contact in North-east Arnhem Land," and an exhibition of carved sacred figures from Arnhem Land.

September 28th.—An address by Mr. W. G. Werner, of the University of Chicago, on "Anthropology in the United States."

Seven Council meetings were held during the year.

Two numbers of the Society's journal MANKIND were published: Vol. III, No. 12, in December and Vol. IV, No. 1, in September. Overseas and local interest in the journal is increasing, and several institutions in England, the United States and New Zealand were added to our subscription list. Demand for back numbers far exceeds the supply and three of our five remaining complete sets were sold to selected institutions. It is Council's intention to endeavour to have those back numbers now out of print reproduced, so that several more complete sets will be available. To the success of the journal Council records its thanks to the Editor, Mr. Bell. It is with great pleasure that Council announces the success of its third application for a grant-in-aid of publication of MANKIND. It was advised in August that the Premier of N.S.W. had approved an annual grant of £100 to the Society for this purpose, and for their efforts in this regard we have to thank Hon. C. R. Evatt, K.C., M.L.A., Minister for Housing and Assistant Treasurer, Mr. G. W. Watkins, a member of Council, and our Vice-President, Professor Elkin. This grant will allow us to increase the size of the journal and permit us to print longer articles and to publish some of the many charts of Aboriginal rock engravings of the Sydney district recorded by the special committee set up by Council.

During the year the Society was accepted as an affiliated organization of the National Trust of Australia (N.S.W.). Apart from the general desirability of being affiliated with such a body, it was considered that the support of the National Trust would considerably enhance the chances of success of the draft legislation of an Act for the Protection of Aboriginal Relics which Council has planned to submit to Parliament. Mr. F. D. McCarthy, the Honorary Treasurer, was elected the Society's delegate for 1949 to the Council meetings of the Trust.

The Council of management of the Australian Anthropological Association was transferred from the South Australian Society to N.S.W. this year for the current biennial term.

In August Council was advised that the recently formed Anthropological Society of Queensland had held its inaugural Council meeting in Brisbane. The Society intends to become affiliated with the A.A.A. and Council wishes to record its pleasure in this practical evidence of the growth of interest in anthropology in Australia.

Leave of absence from Council was granted Mr. F. D. McCarthy, Dip.Anthr., Honorary Treasurer, who, as a member of the American-Australian Arnhem Land Expedition, is doing valuable field work in that area.

Council wishes to thank Professor Elkin and the Department of Anthropology for the many courtesies rendered during the year. Our thanks also to Mr. E. A. Holden, O.B.E., for his services as the Society's honorary auditor.

In review, Council can look back on a successful year of activities and wishes, firstly, to record its pleasure in the increasing interest shown by members in the lecture programme arranged for them, which was reflected in the larger and encouraging attendances at the general meetings. Members were privileged to hear first-hand accounts from noted anthropologists on their return from their various fields of research and it is to be hoped that the interest will be sustained in the programme to be arranged for the coming year.

With the support of members and through the generosity of the N.S.W. Government

Council hopes to expand still further the general activities of the Society and its publication MANKIND.

Annual Report of the Anthropological Society of Victoria, 1948. *Summary of the report delivered at the annual meeting of the Society, 4th August, 1948.*

The Committee has great pleasure in submitting to members the fourteenth annual report, covering the activities of the Society for the year ended 30th June, 1948.

Membership.

The membership of the Society now stands at eighty-five. Eleven new members were enrolled during the year. Four resignations were received and two of our members passed away.

Obituary.

It is with deep regret that we record the death of Mr. R. H. Croll, one of our foundation members and a member of the Committee up till the time of his death.

The Society also sustained a great loss with the passing of Mrs. H. R. Balfour, the late wife of our esteemed Vice-President, Mr. H. R. Balfour.

Finances.

Rising costs and increased liabilities are reflected in the balance sheet presented this year. The attention of members is drawn to the fact that the expenditure for the year has been greater than the receipts. The Committee is fully aware of the present trend, and steps are to be taken to ensure that the finances of the Society are maintained in a satisfactory state.

"Mankind."

Two issues of the journal MANKIND were published during the year and mailed to members.

Meetings.

Six meetings of the Society were held during the year, a summary of which is as follows :
59th Ordinary Meeting, 9th July, 1947.—Mr. E. P. Chinnery delivered an address entitled "Research and Applied Anthropology in the Pacific."

13th Annual Meeting, 6th August, 1947, at which reports by the hon. secretary and hon. treasurer were submitted and officers elected for the ensuing year. Office-bearers elected for the year were :

President : Mr. G. N. Hyam.

Vice-Presidents : Mr. H. R. Balfour, Mr. S. R. Mitchell.

Committee : Messrs. F. S. Colliver, C. A. S. Mansbridge, C. Metcalf, H. C. E. Stewart, C. S. Walker and Rev. D. Rettick.

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer : Mr. R. C. Seeger.

Hon. Auditor : Mr. E. E. Lord.

At the conclusion of the ordinary business Mr. R. M. Trudinger delivered an address entitled "Uncivilized Nomads of Central Australia," illustrating his talk by screening a film dealing with native life at Ernabella Mission.

60th Ordinary Meeting, 15th October, 1947.—At this meeting a paper by A. O. Neville entitled "Contributory Causes of Aboriginal Depopulation in Western Australia "

was read by Rev. D. Rettick. The paper was subsequently forwarded to the Editor of MANKIND and will be published in the next issue of that journal.

61st Ordinary Meeting, 11th February, 1948, at which two films were screened, namely "The Beginnings of History" and "Father and Son." The former depicted the life of Stone Age man in Britain, whilst the latter dealt with native village life in Kenya.

62nd Ordinary Meeting, 4th March, 1948.—The guest speaker was Mr. F. M. Setzler, Head Curator of Anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution, U.S.A. Mr. Setzler was visiting Melbourne prior to his departure for Arnhem Land. The subject of his address was "Archaeology in Mexico," and was supplemented by a most interesting film entitled "Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Mexico." At this meeting also Mr. C. P. Mountford, of Adelaide, screened his film "Albert Namatjira."

63rd Ordinary Meeting, 26th May, 1948.—At this meeting a film kindly loaned by the South Australian Board of Anthropology and dealing with the life of one of the Central Australian tribes was screened. The Society is greatly indebted to Dr. D. A. Campbell, of Adelaide, who made the necessary arrangements.

Committee Meetings.

Four Committee meetings were held during the year. The Committee again desires to place on record its appreciation of the generosity of the late Mr. Howitt and his successor, Mr. Brown, who made their private office available to the Committee for holding meetings.

Library.

The library is steadily growing, and it is hoped that in the near future arrangements can be made to house it in such a place that the books will be available to members.

The collection of anthropological and ethnological photos is mounting rapidly, and already prints have been made from negatives kindly loaned by Mr. H. R. Balfour and Mrs. J. R. B. Love. Dr. Balfour, Rev. T. T. Webb and Mrs. Geo. Aiston have offered to lend their negatives also. The prints are to be mounted in albums and properly captioned before being placed in the library.

Natural History Medallion.

The Committee has again nominated Mr. F. McCarthy for the above award.

McDowell Bequest.

This fund, including accrued interest, now amounts to £634 7s. 6d.

Victorian Council for Scientific Societies.

The Society has affiliated with the Victorian Council of Scientific Societies, Mr. S. R. Mitchell being nominated to represent this Society at committee meetings.

Excursions.

In conjunction with the Field Naturalist Club of Victoria an excursion to Frankston was held on 29th November, 1947, having as its object the study of aboriginal kitchen middens, of which there are numerous examples in that locality.

Discussion Group.

The Committee decided to inaugurate a discussion group for the benefit of members desirous of furthering their anthropological knowledge. It is hoped that the scheme will be launched early in the ensuing year.

General.

In many respects the past year has been outstanding. The consistently high quality of lectures has brought many favourable comments from members and non-members alike, and it is felt that if this standard can be sustained the Society will serve a useful and fruitful purpose in the cultural life of the community. The lack of a permanent address is still a great handicap, but as office space is practically impossible to procure at present, little can be done in this respect. The most pressing need, however, is a greatly increased membership, so that when such accommodation is offering the Society will be in the position financially to avail itself of the opportunity.

In conclusion, our thanks go to all those members and non-members, both local and interstate, whose help and support have been greatly instrumental in bringing this year to a successful conclusion.

Annual Report of the Anthropological Society of South Australia, 1948. *Summary of the report delivered at the annual meeting of the Society, 29th November, 1948.*

On behalf of the Council of the Anthropological Society of South Australia, I have pleasure in presenting to members the twenty-third annual report of the Society for the year ending 30th November, 1948.

During the year eight meetings of Council were held, the average attendance being seven members.

Eight ordinary meetings were held, the average attendance being nineteen. This figure shows an increase of three on last year, the rise being due to the March meeting, when forty-eight were present to hear members of the Arnhem Land Expedition, which was on its way through Adelaide.

One special meeting was held, on the occasion of the visit of Mr. Lindsay Black, a member of the Anthropological Society of New South Wales.

Papers and addresses were delivered at the ordinary meetings, and were as follows :

March 15.—Short addresses by members of the Arnhem Land expedition :

Mr. C. P. Mountford : An outline of the objects of the Expedition and a tribute to the work done by the Reverend J. C. Jennison.

Mr. F. D. McCarthy : Archaeology and rock carvings in Sydney.

Mr. Frank Setzler : Archaeology in the New World.

May 3.—Film Evening. The Seventh Anthropological Expedition of the Board for Anthropological Research.

May 24.—Mr. H. A. Lindsay : The Evolution of the Bow and its Influence on History.

June 28.—Dr. T. D. Campbell : Primitive Music.

July 6.—Miss Gwen D. Walsh : Primitive Art. An account of the early stages of art and its development, as shown by the work of prehistoric and primitive man.

August 30.—Museum Evening. Five short addresses.

Dr. T. D. Campbell and Mr. P. S. Hossfeld : A Brief Outline of Field Work carried out by the South-East Expedition in February of this year and the Geological Angle of Anthropology.

The Reverend H. K. Bartlett : A Description of Camp Sites visited during the year.

Professor A. A. Abbie : Some differences in Skull Maturation as between the Australian Aborigine and the European.

Mr. N. B. Tindale screened a number of colour transparencies to illustrate the South-East Expedition talk.

September 27.—Mr. T. G. H. Strehlow : Central Australian Native Chants.

October 25.—Mr. F. Roy Vyse : Films. The Northern Territory in colour.

November 29.—Professor A. A. Abbie : Presidential Address : The Amateur in Anthropology.

One member was re-elected to the Society during the year : Mrs. David Brookman of Meadows, S.A.

Five resignations were accepted during the session : Dr. L. Keith Ward, Dr. Charles Fenner, Mr. H. V. V. Noone, Mr. L. Robert Boyle and Mr. Hugh Oldham. All resignations were received with regret. Dr. Ward was a foundation member.

We regret to record the death of one of our ordinary members, Mr. Alfred Edwin Jordan, who had been a member for the past eleven years.

There are now fifty-seven members, comprising one honorary member, two life members and fifty-four members. Also, there are twelve honorary correspondents. Grand total, 69—a decrease of four. Members of the Society were invited to join with the Australian American Movement in S.A. on 18th November to welcome home the Arnhem Land Scientific Expedition. Some 23 members with friends accepted.

A further donation of scientific works has been presented by the Rev. A. Stanley Webb. In accepting the gift, the chairman informed members that this was the culmination of many years of gifts.

Transfer of Control of Australian Anthropological Association.

In March of this year control of the A.A.A. was transferred to the Anthropological Society of New South Wales for the ensuing two years.

Two issues of MANKIND have been published and received this year.

The Society tenders its thanks to the University of Adelaide for the use of the Anatomy Lecture Theatre, and the Board of the South Australian Museum for the use of the Library Room.

E. L. AUSTIN,
Hon. Secretary.

REVIEWS :

Economics of the Mount Hagen Tribes, New Guinea. By Abraham L. Gitlow. *Mono-graphs of the American Ethnological Society.* XII. J. J. Augustin, New York, 1947, xi, 110 pp.

Among geographers, explorers and men who knew the little-known parts of our globe, it would have been a bold man who, at the beginning of 1933, declared that there still remained to be discovered any considerable group of human beings with whom some contact, at least,

had not already been made. However, by the end of that year the world was amazed by a report from Mr. Michael Leahy that he had discovered in the Wahgi Valley, Mandated Territory of New Guinea, a large group of tribesmen who were completely ignorant of white civilization and of whom white civilization, up till that time, had been just as ignorant.

There have been a few references in popular literature to the people of the Wahgi Valley but no attempt at a serious study of the culture has been made prior to the publication of the book under review. Although the title of the book suggests that it is an economic study, yet a glance at the Table of Contents shows that a fairly detailed summary of the culture has been attempted. The author is not an anthropologist but an economist who found himself, owing to the exigencies of war, a temporary inhabitant of the Mount Hagen area. He acknowledges his indebtedness to Firth and Malinowski so far as ethnological disciplines are concerned and to Father William Ross for a great number of his ethnographic facts. Father Ross has lived among the natives of the Wahgi Valley since 1934.

After a preliminary discussion of the relationship between economics and anthropology, the author goes on to describe the discovery and exploration of the Valley, the physical characteristics of the land and its people and the social organization. Descent is patrilineal, although the local group is of much more importance than the kinship group. There is a class of chiefs who wield real authority and an unusual class of people, called by the author "serfs." They are landless, unmarried men and women who serve a particular chief. The religious pattern appears to be the familiar New Guinea belief in ancestral ghosts with a highly developed priesthood responsible for controlling ritual.

A short account of gardening is followed by a description of the trade in salt, gold lip shell, axes and pigs. The inheritance of property and the organization of feasts with a final chapter on economic incentives concludes the book.

It cannot be claimed that this work is an adequate ethnographic analysis of the Mount Hagen people. It indicates the huge gaps in our knowledge of these people and the necessity for a trained anthropological field-worker to carry out a properly organized investigation. Until this has been done, however, we must be grateful to Mr. Gitlow for his attempt to give us a working knowledge of the culture.

F. L. S. BELL.

Brown Men and Red Sand. By Charles P. Mountford. Robertson and Mullens, Melbourne, 1948, xv, 181 pp. 17/6 net.

The sub-title of this delightful book, *Wanderings in Wild Australia*, indicates, to some extent, the nature of its subject matter. In 1940, the author made a journey through the Mann and Musgrave Ranges of Central Australia and this book is an account of that journey. Although the object of the trip was to study the art, mythology and daily life of the natives, the scientific results of the expedition are not recorded in this book. It is rather in the nature of an attempt to paint a picture of the physical and cultural environment of the Aborigines of Central Australia. Let me say immediately that it is a completely successful attempt. There have been other such books in the past, but their authors lacked the evident knowledge and sympathy of Mr. Mountford for the inhabitants of this most inhospitable part of our continent.

He has not only succeeded in capturing the feeling of the inland but has been able to pass it on to the reader. The whole book is imbued with a sense of realism. Perhaps it is not

quite as true or complete a picture of Central Australia as the native who has to live off its meagre resources would paint, but it is at least the first real attempt to interpret the inland scene by a white man who is cognizant of native "values." Not the least of the book's virtues are the illustrations. These are superb. I only know of two other photographers of native types with whom the author can be compared—Bernatzik and Hurley.

Much of the book is concerned with the art of the Aborigine, and among the most interesting of the author's comments on this subject is the suggestion that we are often prone to read into a simple *genre* painting a non-existent magico-religious purpose. The author himself is not completely innocent in this respect. His remarks on the rainbow serpent and the universality of such a belief could, perhaps, have been confined to what he knows of this mythological phenomenon in Australia without dragging in Quetzal Coatl and the Oriental Dragon.

If this book has one theme, it is this: Knowledge of Aboriginal mythology is the key to an understanding of the natives and the land in which they live. The author has stressed the importance of tradition in native life. To the Aborigine, the past is not dead. Every cave, boulder and waterhole is a link with the living past.

This insistence upon the vital role of mythology in native life and the author's evident realization of its cultural importance should make this book of particular value to the student, just as the author's skill in describing his daily experiences among a lovable people under harsh climatic conditions should attract and hold the interest of the general public.

F. L. S. BELL.

Australia in New Guinea. By Dr. L. P. Mair. Introduction by Lord Hailey. *Christophers, London, 1948, xviii, 238 pp. 18/- net.*

If I were asked for one good reason why readers of MANKIND should beg, borrow or better still, buy this book, I should immediately quote the fact that Lord Hailey wrote the Introduction. To anyone familiar with the quality of his work in the related field of African colonial administration, the mere appearance of his name on the title page of a book should be sufficient recommendation. Apart, however, from these considerations, the essay with which he introduces the reader to Dr. Mair's book is a model of fair-minded criticism and contains a statement of principles of which we Australians constantly need to be reminded.

Of course, the fact that Lord Hailey wrote the Introduction to the book is but one good reason for recommending it to our readers. The book itself provides many other excellent reasons for adding it to our bookshelves. It is perhaps the best known source of material for assessing the achievements of the Australian Government in the administration of the territories of Papua and New Guinea.

At the outset, Dr. Mair informs us that the task of administering these territories in accordance with the ideals of native development set out in the United Nations Charter is as hard a task as can be found anywhere in the colonial world and will "involve Australia in an expenditure without hope of return such as no other colonial power has contemplated." She gives adequate reasons for making such a statement and then proceeds to examine the stewardship of Sir Hubert Murray in Papua and of his opposite numbers in the Mandated Territory.

In alternate chapters she deals with the establishment and extension of government control in both of the territories, and with their systems of native administration. In the

latter chapter, she points out that if the label "direct rule" is applicable anywhere, it is so in New Guinea, despite Sir Hubert Murray's claim that his system was true to the spirit of "indirect rule." It is not enough to adopt a benevolent attitude towards the native point of view in order to claim that the system embodies the spirit of "indirect rule." It is necessary to allot definite responsibilities of local government to native agencies and to persuade rather than compel. No one, reading the Native Regulations, can ever suggest that the Lugard system was understood, let alone given a trial, in either Papua or the Mandated Territory.

A not inconsiderable part of the book is taken up in outlining the economic position of the Territories, including the related problems of land and labour. These chapters are full of valuable facts culled in the main from Annual Reports, but supported by first-hand knowledge of the conditions described.

To read the account of our efforts in the field of native education should bring a blush of shame to the cheeks of all Australians who believe that we have obligations towards the natives of New Guinea. It is a story of consistent failure to develop and adopt a worthwhile policy of education and to carry it out by adequate financial support. Almost the same may be said of medical provision in both Territories. In this sphere, however, conditions were rapidly improving just prior to the Japanese invasion.

The activities of the Australian New Guinea Administration Unit during the war years are adequately covered and the effects of war upon native life are discussed. A most stimulating account of the circumstances leading up to the formulation of the present enlightened policy of developing and administering New Guinea winds up the book.

The final chapter deals with events of less than twelve months ago and contains many frank criticisms of the officials, politicians and planters upon whom, rather than the natives, the so-called Ward policy seems to be having its principal effect. Dr. Mair openly admits that her book is an attempt to state clearly and with requisite detail the background of Australia's present policy of native administration. There can be no doubt that she has succeeded in her attempt, and no reader of this book should have any further excuse for a misconception of that policy.

F. L. S. BELL.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS :

A Gift to the Nation : The R. H. Goddard Collection of Australian and Pacific Artefacts.

In October, 1948, Mr. R. H. Goddard, a foundation member of this Society and a life-long student of the material culture of the Australian Aborigine, presented his rare and valuable collection of Australian and Pacific artefacts to the people of Australia. Under the terms of the bequest, it is to become part of the general ethnographic collection destined for display in the National Museum at Canberra, and Mr. S. R.

Mitchell, Hon. Ethnologist of the National Museum, Melbourne, and a close personal friend of the donor, has been deputed by Mr. Goddard to supervise its arrangement and display. At present, the collection is stored in the Institute of Anatomy at Canberra.

Mr. Goddard made this collection during his wanderings in all parts of Australia over the past forty years and it comprises a wide variety of specimens from occupied camp sites in the north-west part of the Continent. Artefacts of bone, pearlshell

ornaments, wooden implements, objects made of human hair and marsupial fur, in addition to others made of iron and glass by the Grinning and Javo tribes of the Kimberleys form part of this valuable collection, each specimen of which is carefully labelled and localized. The student of the future will have much to thank Mr. Goddard for his skill and knowledge as a collector and his generosity as a citizen.

The Anthropological Society of Queensland.

On Thursday, 29th July, 1948, a meeting of persons interested in the foundation of an Anthropological Society in Queensland was held in the Geology Theatre of the University of Queensland. Included among those present were Dr. L. P. Winterbotham, the convener of the meeting, Professor H. J. Wilkinson, Associate Professor F. Robinson, Dr. Norman Sherwood, Dr. K. Pike, Mr. G. Mack, Mrs. H. Robinson, Miss Ursula McConnell, Miss Pearce, Rev. A. Abbott, Rev. L. Hayes, Mr. J. W. Johnstone, Mr. F. S. Colliver, Mr. J. R. Petrie, Mr. F. McKinnon and Mr. P. F. Donnelly. Professor Wilkinson acted as chairman of the meeting and Dr. Winterbotham as honorary secretary.

It was resolved to form the Anthropological Society of Queensland, and all present signified their intention of enrolling as foundation members. A provisional committee consisting of the chairman and secretary of the meeting, together with Associate Professor Robinson, Mr. G. Mack and Mr. F. S. Colliver, was elected to draw up a Constitution and By-laws and to arrange the programme of an inaugural meeting to be held on September 9th, 1948.

On the appointed date, the inaugural meeting of the Society was held in the Geology Theatre of the University of Queensland at 8 p.m. The draft Constitu-

tion and By-laws were submitted to the meeting and adopted unanimously, and the following officers were elected for the year 1948-1949: President, Professor H. J. Wilkinson; Vice-President, Associate Professor F. Robinson; Councillors, Mr. G. Mack and Mr. J. W. Johnstone; Hon. Treasurer, Mr. F. S. Colliver; Hon. Secretary, Dr. L. P. Winterbotham.

At the conclusion of formal business, Professor H. J. Wilkinson delivered an address entitled "An Introduction to Anthropology, with Special Reference to the Origin and Status of the Australian Aborigines and Native Peoples of the Pacific." Mr. S. R. Mitchell, Trustee, Hon. Ethnologist and Hon. Mineralogist of the National Museum, Melbourne, also addressed the meeting.

Professor A. P. Elkin, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Anthropology in the University of Sydney, had been invited to deliver the Inaugural Address to the Society at its first meeting, but was unable to be present. However, on Friday, 26th November, 1948, he gave the Inaugural Address to a specially convened meeting, and took as his subject "Anthropology To-day."

There has been a most gratifying response to the invitation by the Council to those interested in the Science of Man to join the Society, and the hon. secretary reports that the membership now stands at sixty-six (66) financial members. The success of this new venture in the field of learned societies should stimulate interested people in the States of Tasmania and Western Australia to similar action.

The Editor congratulates Dr. Winterbotham and his colleagues on the fine job he and they have done in inaugurating this new Anthropological Society, and wishes to inform all of its members that he will be pleased to receive any articles of an original nature dealing with the anthropology of

Australia and the Pacific for publication in their journal MANKIND.

A Bathurst Island Mourning Rite.

Sir :

Late in February, 1913, word came to Darwin that a fatal epidemic was prevalent in Bathurst and Melville Islands, and I was instructed to visit the islands and do anything possible to help.

I arrived at the Roman Catholic Mission Station at the southern end of Apsley Strait on Bathurst Island on March 2nd, and four days later, with the kindly assistance of Father Coudreau, set off up the Strait in a ten-foot sailing dinghy with a Malay, Matthew Gar, who had a smattering of the native language, two adult islanders, Mari and Dulin, a small native boy, Olinyarra, and stores. On the fourth day at Marilampi, about two miles from Point Brace, at the northern end of the strait, a native camp was found. There were about thirty natives in the group, variously painted. An old man, later found to be named Kerbo, was sitting chanting beside a small heap of red stones in the centre of a cleared circle about twelve feet in diameter. A pile of cooked yams was beside him and he was scraping them with a mission-given knife. The time of my arrival was about ten in the morning. A small boy squatted beside the old man at times but otherwise the natives lounged about outside the circle indifferently coming and going. It appeared that a death ceremony was in progress. A woman sitting with her three boys under a pandanus palm nearby was pointed out as the mother of the dead man. When all the yams had been peeled the old man walked about in the circle chanting and clacking two sticks together. There was an intermission until about 2 p.m., when the old man resumed his chanting. About 4 p.m. he returned again and proceeded to cut up the yams, placing

the pieces in a bark bag, with intervals of walking and chanting. The crowd had now invaded his circle and his walking was confined to a small sector of the circle. Once he washed his hands, head and beard with water and retired to eat. When he had finished, the small boy brought a bark bag of water, which he emptied into the bag containing the cut-up yams. After dark, about 7.30, the old man began to chant again within the circle. He was joined by a number of men, and they shuffled around chanting, slapping their buttocks, and dragging one foot. Finally they shouted and then moved off in single file to a small water channel in the grass nearby. The grass was trodden down and the old man tipped the yams into the water, while the chorus beat their buttocks and cried "Broop." A shout was given and they then dispersed.

During the night the old man chanted at intervals. At sunrise he was seen standing beneath a palm rubbing himself with ochre, and the small boy attending him. He chanted and others joined him. They filed down to the creek, where a shout like "R-r-r-r-p" was given. The old man started to eat the yams and others followed. They then returned to the circle and cleared it by scraping outwards with their feet, tufts of grass and pieces of bark being thrown away. The stones from the central pile were placed round the edge of the circle. The old man took three small stones from the centre and threw them a few feet into the air, with the shout of "R-r-r-r-p." The ceremony was finished.

The language difficulty was formidable, but I learned that I had broken in on the third day of the ceremony. On the first day palm nuts (*kwawka*) had been gathered and eaten. On the second day yams had been collected and had been cooked at sunrise on the third day. I was told that

the old man had chanted about the *Tarula*,¹ who had planted magic on the beaches to the north at the beginning of the wet season. The sun heated the magic, and up it went like smoke and the wind blew it all about. The magic works on the blackfellow with a feeling like a snake crawling up the legs. It moves up to his stomach, and when it reaches his heart he eats no more and dies. He also sang that he was an old man, his wind was short and soon he would die. Later he sang of a fight he had had with another tribe. Later he sang of people who came and fed him while he was sick. When standing in the water he was calling on the others to make the ceremony. When he threw up the stones he called *wei tua*, i.e. "finish."

During the next four weeks I visited tribes in various parts of the islands and heard the same story. I was shown a sample of the magic. It was a tightly woven string bag about the size of a billiard ball and stuffed with kapok. This was said to have been "sung" before it was buried.

Statistics of the mortality of the epidemic presented a problem. The only words for numbers which I could obtain with certainty

were *yadi*, *irrara*, *irradroma*, *arkwawi* and *inalti*, respectively one, two, three, few and many. Some natives had a vague idea of five and ten. A nominal roll of the dead was impossible, as the names of the dead are *ardjidi*, "unlawful," "taboo." A method was arranged whereby flat sticks were used and notched. Separate sticks were taken for males and for females. A group would sit about and the dead identified by relationship with the living. A big notch in the sticks would be made for each adult, a smaller notch for a child, and a tiny notch for a baby. Records obtained in this way showed that at least 56 men, 87 women, 17 boys, 25 girls and one male and one female infant had died. The population of the islands, before the epidemic, was estimated as a result of general enquiries to be about 650, so the known death roll of 187 indicates a high mortality rate.

The original rumour suggested that the natives were dying of measles, as someone had diagnosed some illnesses at the Mission about Christmas time as measles. The extremely low number of infant deaths was entirely against measles being the cause of the holocaust, and supports the native diagnosis of magic.

H. K. FRY,

D.S.O., B.Sc., M.D.

¹ The *tarula* were mainland blacks in the employ of local white men. They were called *tarula* ("lightning") after the guns carried by their employers.

The Anthropological Society of Victoria

(Founded 1932)

OFFICE-BEARERS, 1948-1949.

President : Mr. G. N. Hyam.

Vice-Presidents : Mr. S. R. Mitchell, Mr. H. R. Balfour.

Committee :

Mr. G. White, Mr. J. Thompson, Mr. C. A. S. Mansbridge, Dr. Alan Griffiths,
Mr. H. C. E. Stewart, Rev. D. Rettick.

Hon. Secretary : Mr. R. C. Seeger, 56 Jenkins St., Northcote, N.16.

Hon. Treasurer : Mr. R. C. Seeger, 56 Jenkins St., Northcote, N.16.

Hon. Auditor : Mr. E. E. Lord.

Meetings are held in the Anatomy Lecture Theatre (rear entrance), University of Melbourne on Wednesday evenings as advertised, at 8 p.m., at regular intervals. Annual subscription (including free supply of MANKIND), 10/

The Anthropological Society of Queensland

(Founded 1948)

OFFICE-BEARERS, 1948-1949.

President : Professor H. J. Wilkinson

Vice-President : Associate Professor F. Robinson.

Council :

Mr. G. Mack, Mr. J. W. Johnstone.

Hon. Treasurer : Mr. F. S. Colliver, c/o Geology Department, University of Queensland.

Hon. Secretary : Dr. L. P. Winterbotham, M.B., B.S. (Melb.), 538 Ipswich Road,
Annerley, Brisbane, S.3.

The Australian Anthropological Association

Members :

Anthropological Society of New South Wales.
Anthropological Society of South Australia.
Anthropological Society of Victoria.
Anthropological Society of Queensland.

OFFICE-BEARERS, 1948-1949.

President : Dr. A. Capell, M.A., Ph.D.

Hon. Secretary : Miss G. M. Bell, 164 Prince's Highway, Arncliffe.

Hon. Treasurer : Mr. F. D. McCarthy, c.o. Australian Museum, College St. Sydney.

OBJECTS.

- (a) To promote the science of Anthropology.
- (b) To hold biennial conferences of delegates from affiliated societies to deal with matters affecting affiliated societies generally, or the science of anthropology.
- (c) To take public and official action in the interests of anthropology, as may be deemed desirable.
- (d) To encourage affiliated societies to co-operate in every possible way.

The Anthropological Society of N.S.W. as such is not responsible for any opinion or declaration published in this magazine, by whomsoever expressed, unless specifically stated to be so by the Editor.

All communications, MSS., and proposed advertisements to be addressed to Mr. F. L. S. Bell, M.A., Editor, City of Sydney Public Library, George Street, Sydney.

Persons interested in the work of the Society please address correspondence to the Hon. Secretary:

MANKIND

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETIES
OF AUSTRALIA

Vol. 4, No. 3

SEPTEMBER, 1949

Price: 3s. 6d.

CONTENTS

PLATES G. H. MATERIAL CULTURE OF DARLING RIVER VALLEY.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES:

THE INTERLOCKING KEY DESIGN IN ABORIGINAL AUSTRALIAN DECORATIVE ART. DR. D. S. DAVIDSON	85
THE NARRATIVE IN TANGA. MR. F. L. S. BELL	97
NOTES ON THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE ABORIGINES OF THE DARLING RIVER VALLEY, N.S.W. MR. R. LINDSAY BLACK	107
SOME MYTHS OF THE GARADJERI TRIBE, W.A. DR. A. CAPELL	107

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS:

The Anthropological Society of N.S.W.: Financial Position, 1948	123
---	-----

Published by
THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NEW SOUTH WALES
C/o Australian Museum, College St., Sydney.

The Anthropological Society of New South Wales

(Founded 1928)

OFFICE BEARERS, 1948-1949.

President : Dr. A. Capell, M.A., Ph.D.

Vice-Presidents : Professor A. P. Elkin, M.A., Ph.D. F.R.A.I., Mr. D. S. Wylie, F.A.I.S., A.S.A.A. (Eng.).

Council :

Mr. A. D. G. Downer, Mr. E. J. Bryce, F.R.G.S., Mr. F. L. S. Bell, M.A. F.R.A.I.
Dr. N. W. G. Macintosh, M.B., B.S., Mr. Carlyle Greenwell, B.Sc.

Hon. Treasurer : Mr. F. D. McCarthy, Dip.Anthr. (Syd.), c/o Australian Museum.

Hon. Secretary : Miss G. M. Bell, 164 Prince's Highway, Arncliffe.

Editorial Committee : Mr. F. L. S. Bell (Editor), Mr. F. D. McCarthy, Dr. A. Capell.

Hon. Auditor : Mr. D. R. Wylie, A.C.A. (Aust.), A.C.I.S. (Eng.).

The Anthropological Society of South Australia

(Founded 1926)

OFFICE-BEARERS, 1948-1949.

President : Mr. N. B. Tindale.

Vice-President : Mr. T. G. H. Strehlow.

Council :

Professor A. A. Abbie, Dr. T. D. Campbell, Dr. E. C. Black, Professor J. B. Cleland,
Rev. H. K. Bartlett

Hon. Librarian : Miss G. D. Walsh.

Hon. Treasurer : Mr. Edward V. Dix.

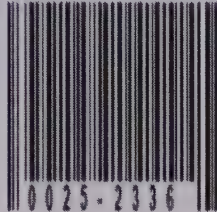
Hon. Secretary : Mr. E. L. Austin, c/o The Electricity Trust of S.A.
222 North Terrace, Adelaide.

2024-04-15

Box: IA40549120
Old Pallet: IA405491



Mankind 1949-09: Vol 4 Iss
3



D
THE
OF AUSTRALIA

September, 1949

S :

Davidson.
ive Art.¹ By Dr. D. S.
Washington.

an decorative art is the inter-
y parts of the world, including
art of the Australian aborigines
the history of this particular
stralian culture are indigenous,

uld be encountered in settling

the question of the origin of the Australian appearance of such a distinctive design as the interlocking key. It has been found in Bronze Age deposits in Celebes and is present in curvilinear form in the decorative art of modern New Guinea. Its appearance in Australia therefore may not seem remarkable. However, in dealing with simple geometrical designs we are concerned with elusive subject matter which requires special consideration. The various appearances of the interlocking key in the world are far from identical, hence grouping them together under one term, although convenient for the purpose of classifying art forms, does not make them alike nor, in itself, establish any basis of historical relationship. Without supporting evidence a presumption that all the differing forms are deviants from some conceptualized standard is arbitrary in the extreme. Until evidence is secured to show that the basic designs in the various widely scattered appearances were similar during the respective periods when contacts with each other are supposed to have been broken, the possibility should be recognized that one or more of the resemblances may be the results of parallel or convergent developments. Indeed, some of the less formalized appearances may be tendencies toward the perfect interlocking key pattern rather than distortions of it. It also is possible that some similarities are due less to resemblances in the unit motifs than to the manner in which each is repeated in a linear series to form a fret. The fret usually is employed in the decoration of borders or bands, but is not well suited to the filling of large or irregular spaces. Repetition of a motif along an edge is quite a common practice in the world, but

¹ This paper represents the partial results of field research conducted in 1938-1939 in Western Australia under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania, the American Philosophical Society, and the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

many designs so employed cannot be arranged into a continuous fret without losing their distinguishing features. There are other motifs which, if repeated in line with slight adjustment, might appear to be variant interlocking key patterns. It also should be noted that similar designs may become divergent, and different designs convergent, as the result of changes in the techniques of execution. Curvilinear patterns may become angular if woven into textiles. Angular figures may become rounded at the corners or otherwise distorted if applied with a paint brush. Thus without additional information it is impossible to know whether the similar forms or the differing forms are old or new in the areas where they are now found. Until a historical context has been established in each of several such areas, any similarities in simple geometrical designs in cultures widely separated in time and space cannot be accepted as evidence of historical relationship, but merely as suggestions of possible relationship.

THE INTERLOCKING KEY IN AUSTRALIA.

The interlocking key design in Australia differs considerably from the appearances in other parts of the world. The true fret seems to be lacking and can be said to be approached only in the relatively few instances in which unformalized and widely varying resemblances to the interlocking key are arranged in line in a short series. The Australian artists do not treat the unit design as the formal and unalterable element of a larger pattern, but make it important in itself and in its variability. In some cases the lines may be turned at acute or obtuse angles, rather than at the usual right angles, and continued indefinitely and irregularly as angular meanders, often to cover the entire decorated surface (Figs. 1 (a), (d), (e) ; 2 (a)). These meandering lines seldom cross, but are turned back wherever necessary to run parallel to themselves or to other zigzagging lines, or are sometimes directed into irregular spaces where, after a few turns which almost unavoidably simulate the interlocking key unit design, they terminate. The interlocking key also may be executed as a space design, rather than as a line design, by filling the compartments between real or imaginary lines with a series of closely set diagonal hatchings which alternate in direction from space to space, herringbone fashion (Figs. 3, 4). In some cases the design itself is well executed, in others it may be indistinct or confused in the sequence of many filled spaces, which alternate to the edge of the decorated surface, or in the irregularity of the arrangements.

The causes of this great variability of expression are uncertain. They could be partially the result of technological difficulties, or of a lack of insistence on perfection. There may be a conscious or subconscious interest in experimenting with the design, either for its own artistic possibilities or for the purpose of decorating the entire surface of the object, a local principle for which the interlocking key is not well suited without the loss of some distinctive features. Variation also may be partially the result of the attempt to portray a line design with the herringbone hatching technique (Fig. 1 (b), (c)), or to execute the herringbone with the line technique of the interlocking key, thus possibly contributing to the development of the meander (Fig. 2 (a)). Whatever the history of these art forms may be, it is clear that it cannot be determined by an analysis of the designs from a single time period. Without archaeological data, historical records, or ethnological evidence to indicate the trends and changes, which over a course of time have produced the modern forms, the contemporary expressions have little meaning for historical problems. Without time perspective it is impossible to determine which of the wide range of appearances are old, which new. A few



Fig. 1. *Incised Pearl Shell Ornaments.*

The interlocking key design is shown in line style, leading variously into angular meanders, in *a*, *d*, *e*, and in hatching style, usually associated with wooden objects, in *b* and *c*. The former are typically Karadjeri. These specimens were traded to Derby (*a*), Fitzroy Crossing (*b*, *c*), Manilya (*d*), and Roebourne (*e*). (All are in the University of Pennsylvania Museum.)

decades ago such a range of forms might have been interpreted as evidence that the design evolved from the herringbone, directly or via the meander, or *vice versa*, that these two are progressive developments from the interlocking key. But even if it could be determined that the oldest local appearances of the interlocking key were perfect in form, this fact alone would not prove that the design had been invented in or out of Australia.

There are other types of evidence which may throw more important light on the problem of Australian origin versus foreign derivation than would a knowledge of the chronological order of the design elements. Of primary importance is distribution. Should the inter-

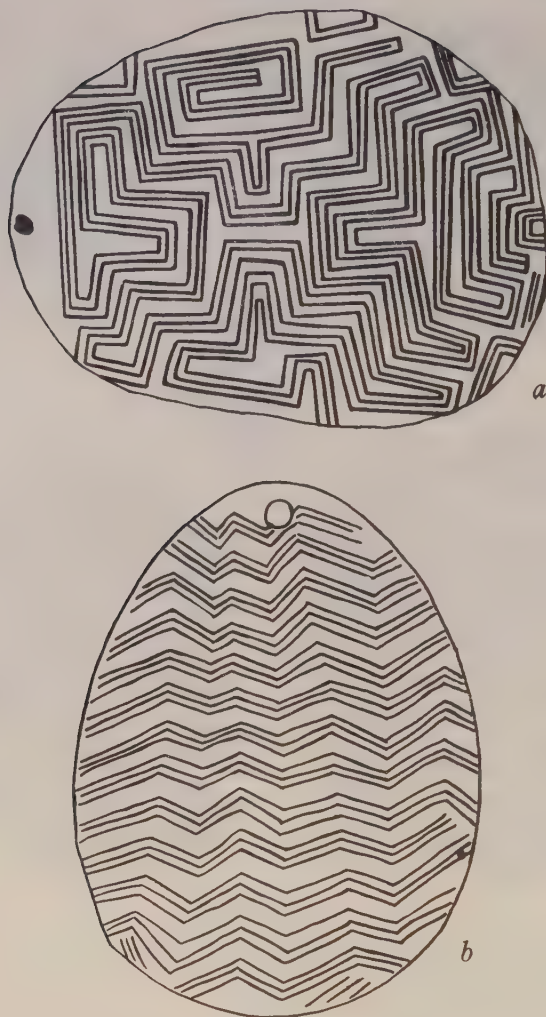


Fig. 2. Incised Pearl Shell Ornaments.

The interlocking key and angular meander are found in *a*, the herringbone in *b*. Specimen *a* was collected at Sunday Island (from Mountford and Harvey).

Specimen *b* is in the University of Pennsylvania Museum.

locking key be confined to the interior of the continent, there would be no basis for a claim of overseas derivation, for this fact of distribution would outweigh in importance any similarity with appearances in some other distant culture area. It is of course possible that the distributional evidence is incomplete but that would have to be established by the presentation of additional facts, not by an assumption of incompleteness. If it would be justified to inject the interlocking key into any part of Australia, or for that matter into any part of the



Fig. 3. Karadjeri type shield showing interlocking key as a space design with alternate series of diagonal hatchings extending to edges of decorated surface, herringbone fashion. This specimen had been traded to the De Grey River area. (University of Pennsylvania Museum.)

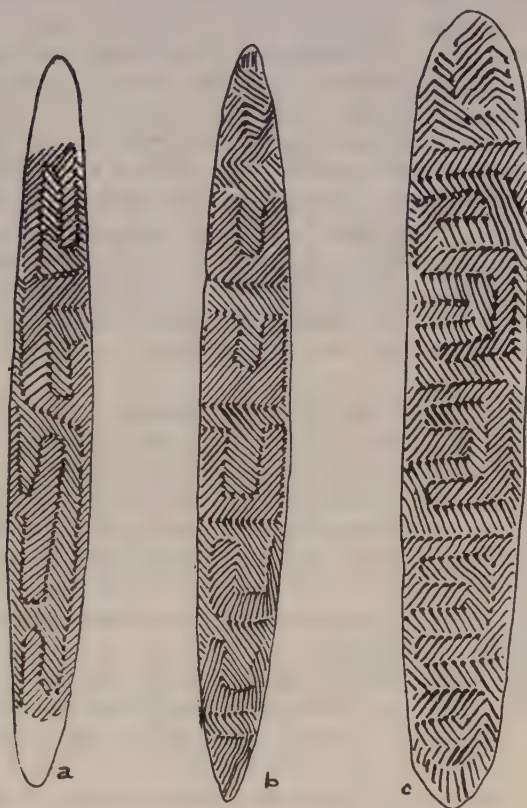


Fig. 4. Wooden churingas with varying interlocking key patterns. Herringbone influences are apparent. a, b, King Leopold Range; c, Mount Vernon. (All University of Pennsylvania Museum.)

world, for any time period necessary for a preconceived conclusion, then there are no anthropological problems, for all unknown origins can be assigned to some remote period in the Palæolithic age, and scattered appearances can be attributed to the migrations of

hypothetical peoples who roamed the world at will regardless of geographical or cultural barriers.

The limits of distribution, however, constitute only part of the evidence. Of equal importance are the facts of diffusion. If adequate archaeological evidence is at hand the spread of a material trait can be shown by successive changes in distribution. Similarly ethnological information may indicate the directions which diffusion has followed. Thus if an inland distribution can be shown to be expanding toward the coast, an origin in the interior is indicated by a second primary fact. On the other hand, diffusion from a coastal area to the interior does not in itself constitute proof of an overseas derivation, for traits may originate in a coastal area as well as in the interior, but it does establish the possibility of a foreign source. It is in this respect that the location of the coastal area and the antiquity of the trait are of importance. For instance, if a distribution were limited to the coast at the head of the Great Australian Bight it would be difficult in terms of general knowledge to justify even a suspicion of overseas contact. A trait found in coastal New South Wales and known to be only a century old could not be attributed to visitors other than Europeans, or to Maori workmen employed there for a time. On the other hand, direct overseas influences along the northern coast of Western Australia have been potential ever since the concept of off-shore navigation became established in the East Indies, possibly in the larger islands almost 2,000 years ago. Before that, accidental drift conceivably could have swept unwillingly, East Indian coastwise, sailors to sea and to this coast. But direct contacts would have been impossible before the development of sturdy craft. The Cape Yorke Peninsula is the only region where traits could have been introduced to the continent in very ancient times.

Other types of evidence which may indicate a foreign derivation are traditional information and linguistic data. However, traditions of overseas visitors should not be confused with mythological fiction which may or may not be based on fact. In many parts of the world coastal peoples tell stories of imaginative distant islands where dwell supernatural beings, disembodied souls, or spirits waiting to be born. Thus words which might mean "the design which came from overseas" would have no historical significance if it functioned solely in a mythological context. On the other hand, a word with a phonemic structure at variance with Australian phonemes would be of major importance, particularly if its affiliation with another language could be identified.

All in all, it seems evident that the question of an Australian origin or an overseas derivation of the interlocking key, or of any other simple geometric design, must be decided only on the basis of Australian evidence. Similarities in other culture areas are of no significance unless the facts from the continent demonstrate that a foreign derivation is culturally possible. It seems hardly necessary to point out that all the facts required for such a conclusion are seldom available. Nevertheless, all hypotheses of overseas influences should be in accord with the facts at hand, not at variance with them.

THE AUSTRALIAN EVIDENCE.

With these considerations in mind, let us consider the direct evidence concerning the interlocking key on the continent, where the design in various forms is found along the northern coast of Western Australia on baobab nuts, boomerangs, spear-throwers, shields, pearl shells and churingas (see map, Fig. 5).



Fig. 5. *Distribution of the Interlocking Key Design.*

- \\ \\ Territory of the Karadjeri, the only tribe to apply the interlocking key design to pearl shells and shields.
- La Grange, centre of Karadjeri art.
- Distant points to which Karadjeri decorated pearl shells have been traded.
- ➡ Direction of major trade in Karadjeri decorated shields.
- /// Distribution of application of interlocking key design to churingas.
- ← Direction of diffusion from Karadjeri near end of 19th century.
- <=> Directions in which churingas with interlocking key design have been traded in increasing quantities in recent decades.
- ↪ Suggested derivation of interlocking key design from the East Indies.

Baobab Nuts. The decoration of baobab nuts with painted and incised designs, usually naturalistic figures,² but very occasionally a variant interlocking key pattern, seems to be limited to the southern King Sound region, but the exact locality is uncertain.³ The Karadjeri at La Grange to the west⁴ associate this art with Derby, as do the Djaru in the eastern Kimberley area, a few hundred miles to the east, who do not receive these objects in trade.

Boomerangs. Western Australian boomerangs are not permanently ornamented except in an area only slightly larger than that in which baobab nuts are decorated.⁵ The inter-

² Animals, birds, reptiles, plants and leaves predominate.

³ See Davidson, 1937, pp. 63-65; McCarthy, 1948, pp. 44, 51. Most specimens come from the Derby area, few from surrounding tribes.

⁴ West of the Karadjeri decorated baobab nuts seem to be generally unknown at Warrawagine, Nullagine, Jigalong Creek, etc. One Targudi informant had heard that they belonged far to the north-east.

⁵ See Davidson, 1936, pp. 90-92; 1937, pp. 19-21. A consistent feature of all Western Australian boomerangs is their pointed ends, in contrast to those with rounded ends made in the Northern Territory and Central Australia. The line of demarcation is uncertain, but lies east of the Djaru, probably close to the Western Australian border.

and introduced circumcision, subincision and many other culture traits.²⁰ It would not be surprising if it were added to the myth complex in due course, for some informants felt that the design belonged to the Wadji Kuthara in the east and that the latter, for some reason or other, neglected to introduce it during the period of their local visit.

South-west of the Nangumarda, the Targudi attribute the interlocking key design to influences from desert tribes to their north-east. It has been given such prominence during the last half century that it has all but replaced the longitudinal zigzag motif formerly typical of local churingas and still the standard design among tribes to the west and south.²¹

An interesting slate churinga with a very carefully executed interlocking key motif, similar to the designs on the Karadjeri shields, has been illustrated elsewhere.²² Its point of origin has not been determined but it appears that this type of churinga, of which only a few specimens have been found, may be associated with some of the near or distant eastern neighbours of the Karadjeri. The Karadjeri deny that they are responsible for these objects.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

To summarize the evidence for Australia, it has been shown that the application of the interlocking key design is limited to a relatively small region centred on the northern coast of Western Australia between the Fitzroy River area on the east, the De Grey River and Nullagine areas on the west, and an undefined line north of the Canning Route on the south. Although applied to several types of object the design appears so infrequently on baobab nuts, boomerangs and spear-throwers that it seems permissible to dismiss them from consideration.

The three types of object on which the interlocking key is important are associated directly with the Karadjeri. Its application to pearl shells and shields is exclusively their practice, hence they are the only tribe which could have extended the use of the Karadjeri shield design to churingas, as a substitute for the longitudinal zigzag design formerly associated with them. Since there is evidence to indicate that churingas arrived on the coast from the interior in relatively recent times, it is possible that the Karadjeri began the substitution shortly after these ceremonial objects were adopted, perhaps as recently as the middle nineteenth century. According to their tradition the longitudinal zigzag retained some importance until about the end of the century.

The westward spread of the interlocking key as a churinga design is attested by the Nangumarda and Targudi who received it from the Karadjeri toward the end of the nineteenth century.

For the tribes east of the Karadjeri the information is less definite. It is uncertain whether the interlocking key is applied even to-day very far east of the longitude of Derby. The Kidja and Djaru in the eastern Kimberley district traditionally associate it with the

²⁰ The Nangumarda attribute to the Wadji Kuthara the introduction of circumcision and subincision, boomerangs, straight spears, the fire-plow, the four section system, bullroarers, churingas, the thread cross, and various songs and ceremonies. The exploits of the Wadji Kuthara are known along the Canning Route, but apparently are lacking in the Mulla Bulla region of eastern Kimberley.

²¹ To the west the Panjima recognize the interlocking key as a decorative feature of tribes somewhere to the east. At Jigalong Creek to the south it is known to be typical of large churinga, called *irimari*, possessed by desert tribes to the north-east. At Bald Hill, north-east of Peak Hill, large churingas are known by this term, but the interlocking key motif is associated with tribes far to the north.

²² Davidson, 1937, p. 99, Fig. 72 (a).

Derby area, a few hundred miles to the west. They seldom received objects decorated with this motif until recent decades, when churingas began to arrive from their western neighbours. This movement has been growing in intensity and has been extended north of the Kimberley Ranges. Whether the authority to incise the design on churingas is spreading eastward in the wake of the traded specimens has not been determined.

Also associated with the Karadjeri are both the line and diagonal hatching styles of portrayal. The former, leading into angular meanders, seems to be exclusively Karadjeri, and is applied only to the hard pearl shells. The latter is typical of wooden objects, but is found occasionally in simple form on shell specimens, and has spread from the Karadjeri to the various tribes which now incise the interlocking key design on churingas. The best proportioned and most carefully executed examples of this style are found on the Karadjeri shields. The two styles therefore not only have their sources in the artistry of the same tribe, but are executed at the present time by the same craftsmen, who tend to associate each with a specific type of material.

The type of object to which the interlocking key design was first applied in Australia is uncertain, but unless unknown objects are involved, it seems evident that it was either pearl shells or wooden shields. Since shell is so much more difficult to incise than wood, the associated peculiarities in technique and design may represent adjustments to that material. If so, the geometrically well proportioned designs with the carefully arranged diagonal hatchings, so typical of the modern shields, may have served as the original model. However, without archæological evidence there is no assurance that the modern shield designs are not elaborations of some simpler form. If the designs on older shields lack the diagonal hatchings they would be basically similar to the line designs on the modern shells, the difference being that on the shields the lines would enclose rectangular spaces, whereas on the shells they are turned at angles of various degrees and continued as angular meanders. The designs on the modern shields, therefore, could represent the combination of such a simple outline form and the herringbone tradition, so widespread in Western Australia and found in variant form on some shells (Fig. 1 (b), (c)). Unfortunately shields from the pre-European period are not available and, as a result of their perishable nature, there is little hope that much can be learned of them archæologically.

Since the Karadjeri shield is confined to a small coastal area there is the possibility that it may have been introduced from overseas and, if so, may have brought the interlocking key design with it. However, it differs but little from other varieties of Australian shields and in its sunken grip has affinities with the shields of the interior of the continent. Thus it would seem that the question of its derivation cannot be isolated from the problem of the origin of Australian shields in general.

Decorated pearl shells should be retrievable from archæological deposits in the Karadjeri area. Furthermore, since those with interlocking key designs are produced only by the Karadjeri, their presence in datable horizons anywhere on the continent will provide a basis for cross-dating in the home region. The ethnological evidence does not suggest that the design enjoys much antiquity, even among the Karadjeri, for since they seem to have been its sole possessors less than a century ago, it is quite possible that it was unknown fifty years or so earlier, or about 1800. Whether a greater antiquity will be revealed archæologically remains to be determined. But regardless of the question of actual antiquity it is to be

hoped that the chronology of the changes in the design can be established. If it is found that the oldest designs are in outline and that subsequently diagonal hatchings were tried but abandoned, the possibility that the designs on the modern shields have been influenced by herringbones would be strengthened. If the oldest designs on the shells are similar to those on modern shields, and subsequently were altered into line designs and angular meanders, the conclusion that the hatching style represents the original form of the design on the continent would be warranted.

If undecorated pearl shell ornaments are found in the older archæological deposits, and completely decorated specimens in a succeeding level, it would suggest that the design did not originate with the shells but had been transferred from some type of object identity unknown, but conceivably the Karadjeri shield.

Although it would be difficult to prove that a design did not originate locally, unless decorated objects definitely of foreign derivation, such as pottery sherds, could be found archæologically, the possibility of an overseas origin can be indicated by other types of evidence. Until archæological data determine the original form of the interlocking key in Australia we do not know which form to seek overseas. Nevertheless, the small distribution of the application of all varieties of the design along the northern coast opposite the lesser Sunda Islands, the evidence of spread in less than a century from a tiny area around La Grange to the present limits, and the original association of the two major stylistic varieties respectively with two types of object made principally by the local Karadjeri, provide strong support for the contention that the design may be new and introduced, rather than old and indigenous. The Australian data thus invite a consideration of all overseas facts consistent with this evidence. It should be recognized that if the interlocking key has been derived from the East Indies, most of the evidence which may ever be found there will pertain to the history of the design in that region and not to its association with Australian objects. Hence, as long as the information from the islands is scattered and fragmentary, most of it can be expected to be at variance with the requirements of the evidence from the continent. Stray facts from the East Indies which may be inconsistent should be utilized only for what they are worth in perspective. Above all, they should not be considered as a basis for interpreting the evidence from Australia, for in respect to continental problems it is the latter which is of primary importance. The Australian evidence can be modified or expanded only by more information from Australia, and any attempt to force it into an overseas context cannot be justified methodically. The task is to find the overseas evidence consistent with it.

Evidence from the East Indies which may pertain to the problem of the interlocking key in Australia is exceedingly slim. It is worth noting that late in the eighteenth century the inhabitants of Timor Laut were making annual voyages to the Northern Territory. It is quite possible that their neighbours of Timor, Soemba or other nearby islands, knew of and visited Western Australia at about that time, but as yet there is no direct supporting evidence. Nor is it yet known whether these islanders ever possessed the interlocking key design.

It is at this point that the appearance of the design on prehistoric pottery sherds found at Galoempang, West Central Celebes, deserves consideration (Fig. 6). At the moment these finds do not seem to pertain directly to the Australian problem but constitute an

independent fact which may or may not have ramifications. The dating of the Galoempang site is uncertain, but on the basis of comparisons with Bronze Age designs in China and Indo-China has been assigned variously to the period between late in the first millennium B.C. and pre-Islamic times, possibly as late as A.D. 1300.²³ However, unless it is assumed that the potters of Galoempang visited the Karadjeri, the date of their site is of incidental importance. The sherds merely prove that the interlocking key was employed for decoration in a part of the East Indies 500 to 1500 years prior to the earliest use in Australia as presently known. If there is a historical relationship between the two appearances there must be an overlapping in the time spans in the two regions. Either the design continued to be applied in the East Indies for many centuries, say until about 1800, during which time it spread to the particular islanders who brought it to Australia, or it was introduced into



Fig. 6. Pottery Sherd, Galoempang, Celebes.

The date is uncertain but has been assigned variously from late first millennium B.C. to pre-Islamic times. The filling of spaces with incised lines is a general decorative feature and is not necessarily comparable to the herringbone style of portrayal on Australian wooden objects. (*After Heine-Geldern.*)

Australia from 500 to 1500 years earlier than presently indicated, at which time it must have been possessed by the islanders who visited the continent as well as by the occupants of Galoempang, Celebes. However, any theory of introduction must be accommodated to Australian evidence and it would seem unlikely, although not impossible, that the aborigines in the La Grange area would have retained the design as their exclusive property for a period of from 500 to 1500 years. But that is a question for archæology to settle. In any event the hypothesis of an introduction from the East Indies to Australia, whether early or late, implies that the design was present in islands other than Celebes, and that dates different from that of the Galoempang site, whatever it may be, are involved, both in Celebes and elsewhere. Until Australian archæology determines the original form of the design and its antiquity on the continent, the stray bits of information from the East Indies cannot be viewed in proper perspective.

²³ Heine-Geldern, p. 138.

There seems to be no reason to doubt that the interlocking key design in some form came to Australia from the East Indies. The general reasons for such a conclusion are abundant and varied, and are based on types of evidence independent of any controversy over design analysis and identification. It may be found that the ethnological data now available from Australia have already defined the essentials of the problem. The details await determination. In view of the potential archaeological sources of information, it would seem that conclusions based on specific evidence ultimately will be possible.

REFERENCES.

- Davidson, D. S., 1936. Australian Throwing-Sticks, Throwing-Clubs, and Boomerangs. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 38 (1): 76-100.
- Davidson, D. S., 1937. A Preliminary Consideration of Aboriginal Australian Decorative Art. *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. IX, Philadelphia.
- Elkin, A. P., 1932. Social Organization in the Kimberley Division, North-western Australia. *Oceania*, Vol. 2 (3): 296-333.
- Heine-Geldern, R., 1945. Prehistoric Research in the Netherlands Indies. *Science and Scientists in the Netherlands Indies*, New York, Board for the Netherlands Indies, Surinam and Curaçao.
- Love, J. R. B., 1917. Notes on the Worora Tribe of North-western Australia. *Transactions, Royal Society of South Australia*, Vol. 41.
- Love, J. R. B. Stone Age Bushmen of To-day. London: Blackie.
- McCarthy, F. D., 1939. "Trade" in Aboriginal Australia, and "Trade" Relationships with Torres Strait, New Guinea and Malaya. *Oceania*, Vols. 9-10.
- McCarthy, F. D., 1948. Australian Aboriginal Decorative Art. 2nd ed. Sydney: Australian Museum.
- Mountford, C. P., and Harvey, A., 1938. A Survey of Australian Aboriginal Pearl and Baler Shell Ornaments. *Records of the South Australian Museum*, Vol. 6 (2).

D. S. DAVIDSON.

Melanesia : Social Anthropology.**Bell.****The Narrative in Tanga.** By F. L. S. Bell. (Continued from Vol. 4, No. 1.)

My second example of the myth has to do with the origin of the coconut palm, a tree which provides the natives of this group with a basic foodstuff. As the myth develops it will be seen that it is the nutritional value of the coconut which determines the form of the myth. Here follows the myth of the *Pirpir*³⁶ and the Coconut Palm :

"Many generations ago there were no coconut palms. One day a man of Boieng died and they buried him in a cavern named Li-iu (the Cave of the Spear). Shortly after, a tree began to sprout from his head and it broke through the roof of the cave and it grew to such a height that the topmost branches penetrated the clouds and were lost to sight. This tree was a coconut palm which bore edible nuts. However, since it was so high, no one knew that it bore such good fruit. It was left to the smallest and least significant of birds, the *pirpir*, to discover this fact.

"One morning, before dawn, he equipped himself with a small basket full of *canarium* almonds, two small stones and a sharpened stick and began to climb the tree. By mid-day he was tired and hungry. He hammered the stick into the trunk of the tree, hung his basket on it and had a meal. He broke open and ate the kernels of four *canarium* almonds, after which he resumed his climb, taking his basket and his stick along with him. Just before sunset he stopped climbing again and had another meal. He then went to sleep. In the morning, he woke up, had another meal of nuts and began to climb again. By mid-afternoon, he reached the top of the palm. He looked around him and saw Muliama (on the mainland of New Ireland) to the south-west and Feni to the south-east and many other islands to the north and the west. To each of these islands he hurled a ripe coconut (*ang ku*).

"He then threw one down to the base of the tree but it broke into small pieces. The *pirpir* then said to himself : 'This tree is too high. No one will be able to gather nuts from such a high tree.' He then pushed the head of the tree down a long way. He dropped another *ku* and it also broke into small pieces. He pushed the tree down still further and again dropped a ripe nut. It again broke into small pieces. He pushed the tree down again and at last was able to drop a *ku* without causing it to break. He then tried dropping a nut which was not quite ripe (*an da:n*). He discovered that the palm was still too high to permit of the nut being dropped without fracturing its shell. However, by a series of further depressions of the top of the tree, the correct height from which a *da:n* could be safely dropped was obtained. The *pirpir* then dropped a green nut used for drinking purposes only (*an tut*). It broke into small pieces and the height of the tree had to be adjusted by a further series of depressions until even a *tut* could be dropped without damage.

"Having satisfied himself that the tree was now at that height from which all types of nuts could be dropped in safety, the *pirpir* gathered up his basket and flew back to his home in the jungle. From that day on, all coconut palms stopped growing at the height to which the *pirpir* had depressed the top of the first coconut palm."

A second version of this myth, which was told me by a Feni man, indicates the variations which tend to creep into all forms of the narrative among these people.

"Many generations ago there lived a brother and sister. The brother died. He was buried in a cave and from his head there grew a coconut palm. The palm penetrated the

³⁶ The *pirpir* is a small yellow bird something like our domesticated canary. It is either a species of Sunbird (*Nectarinia jugularis*) or less probably a Yellow-throated White Eye (*Zosterops metcalfei*).

roof of the cave and grew to a height of six feet. There it stopped growing. When the sister who survived became pregnant, the coconut palm flowered and began to bear nuts. When she gave birth to a child, the palm likewise dropped some ripe nuts. The woman asked her husband to pick one of the green nuts for her baby. He did so and after trying it first, gave it to the child. He then broke open a ripe nut and after eating the flesh declared it to be good. He gave some of it to his baby daughter. The woman, being the sister of the man from whose head sprang the coconut palm, was forbidden to have any contact with her brother or with any object, especially a foodstuff, which had come into contact with her brother. She was therefore forbidden to eat the fruit of the coconut palm nor could she approach within speaking distance of the tree without embarrassment. She therefore called out to the tree to grow up into the sky. The palm thereupon grew right up through the dome of the tree."

My third and last example of the mythical tale concerns the miraculous doings of a character named Kabutrai. My informant, Solfunmat, explained to me that Kabutrai and his brother Suilik were two *tara*, that is, supernatural beings with supernormal powers, who lived on the island of Boieng long before the advent of man. According to Solfunmat, it was Kabutrai who cut open the serpent Longget and released the totemic animals. In fact, Kabutrai always figures in these myths as a sagacious benefactor of mankind, whilst Suilik fills the rôle of the ignorant, blundering character whose errors of judgment, when not corrected by Kabutrai, have adversely affected the fate of present-day man. I have called these fragmentary myths about Kabutrai "The Tales of Kabutrai the Miracle Worker," and the first concerns the invention of watercraft.

"Whenever Suilik wished to go from one island to another, he sat on a hollow log gong (*ga:mti*) and paddled himself from shore to shore with a large stick. Kabutrai went inland and secretly made himself a large plank canoe (*mon*). He brought it down to the beach and showed it to Suilik. He asked Suilik to try out the *mon* and when he had tested it, he asked him whether it was alright. Suilik said: 'Yes, it is quite a good canoe.' Kabutrai then said: 'Alright, it is yours now.' Kabutrai then went inland again and made himself an outrigger canoe (*wa:ng*). He brought it down to the beach and showed it to Suilik. He asked him to try it out and when he had tested it and found it good, Kabutrai asked him whether he preferred it to the *mon*. Suilik said: 'Yes, I like it better than the *mon*.' He then gave the *mon* back to Kabutrai and set off in his small outrigger to the Siar district on the east coast of the mainland of New Ireland. This is why there are so many outrigger canoes in Siar and so few in Boieng. Before Suilik finally departed for Siar, Kabutrai made him a bamboo raft (*rau-ul*), but Suilik handed it back to Kabutrai, saying that the *wa:ng* was good enough for him. This is why Boieng has the *mon* and the *rauut* and Siar has only the *wa:ng*. Suilik landed at a place on the Siar coast named Anselo. The entrance passage through the hidden reef is very dangerous but Suilik passed through it quite easily in his shallow draft outrigger canoe."

The second tale of Kabutrai is an account of how the various fruits and vegetables lost their one time powers of mobility.

"Kabutrai and Suilik made a garden and planted therein all manner of fruit and vegetables. The former warned the latter that on leaving the garden he must not turn around and look at the plants. Of course, Suilik could not contain his curiosity and he turned around and looked back at the garden. By thus disobeying the warning of Kabutrai he

caused all of the vegetables and fruit trees to become stationary and they have remained thus ever since. Kabutrai was very angry with Suilik for making such a foolish mistake and he sent him away on his *wa:ng* to Siar."

Other incidents in the life of these two characters are of the wish fulfilment type. They indicate what the native would like to accomplish if granted the necessary powers.

"One day Suilik brought a large yam back to the men's house and gave it to Kabutrai. The latter told Suilik to invite a large number of persons to a feast, but Suilik refused to do so. He said to Kabutrai: 'We have but a single yam! How can we feed our guests properly on a single yam?' Kabutrai then said the following words over the yam: '*Puk sina:m i funfun*' (lit. 'This yam/tuber/it is/a great number') and there appeared in the place of the single tuber a large heap of yams."

"On another occasion, Suilik was clearing a space in the jungle for a garden. After cutting away at the undergrowth for a long time, he had little to show for all his hard work. Kabutrai came along and told Suilik to cease his labours. He then said: '*Bal'n mok i rop*' (lit. 'The clearing/of/the bush/is/finished') and immediately a large cleared area made itself visible."

"It was always the practice of Suilik to sit upon the branch which he wished to remove from a tree whilst he was cutting it through. He always used to fall to the ground and hurt himself every time he lopped off a branch. It was Kabutrai who showed him how to sit on that part of the branch which was attached to the tree and cut through it so that it fell and he remained sitting up in the tree."

"Whenever a lot of vegetables, firewood or pigs had to be transported over rough tracks to a distant village, Kabutrai simply said: '*Gum'ula: una ma:li*' (lit. 'Everything has gone to another place'), whereupon the whole lot disappeared from where it had been and was found in the village to which it was destined."

CONCLUSION.

Our study of the narrative in Tanga is now concluded. No attempt has been made to give a literal version of any tale, legend or myth but every effort has been made to demonstrate to the reader the real nature of native narrative and to show how it enriches the life of these people. A careful study of the various narrative forms of a non-literate people should provide the student of native life with an excellent picture of the culture—its material level as well as its religious and philosophical nature. And yet it is next to impossible to understand and appreciate native narrative lacking a knowledge of the ritual and technological aspects of native life. All aspects of culture are interdependent and readers of this article who wish to attain to a fuller understanding of the narrative in Tanga are urged to examine other articles by the author on other aspects of the life of the Tanga.

He has tried to lift the folk tale, the legend and the myth from their flat existence on paper and place them in the three-dimensional reality of full life. The information on which this article is based came to him full flavoured from his own observations of native life. He practised open-air anthropology as opposed to hearsay note-taking. It was hard work but great fun. "Only such anthropology can give us the all-round vision of primitive man and of primitive culture. Such anthropology shows us, as regards myth, that far from being an idle mental pursuit, it is a vital ingredient of practical relation to the environment."³⁷

F. L. S. BELL.

³⁷ Malinowski, B., *Myth in Primitive Psychology*, London, 1926, p. 127.

Australia : Material Culture.**Black.**

Notes on the Material Culture of the Aborigines of the Darling River Valley, Western New South Wales. (I.) By R. Lindsay Black.

The Darling River flows in a south-westerly direction from the Queensland border at Mungindi to Wentworth, where it joins the Murray River at the Victorian border. In a direct line between these two points it would be about 700 miles. Actually it is called the Darling River between Wentworth and Brewarrina and from that point to the Queensland border it is known as the Barwon. Beyond the border it becomes the McIntyre. In order to save confusion I have called the whole area watered by this river system the Darling River Valley.

In various sections of this valley, the Aborigines have left evidence of a number of varying practices. We found none which extended along the whole length of the river and many were confined to reasonably small areas. It is very evident that climatic conditions defined the tribal areas, as certain objects of material culture are only found as far out from the river as the source of the creeks and watercourses which feed the river at each particular point. In this hot, dry country of very low rainfall, water is and was the first consideration. The Aborigines were hunters and lived off the land and they could only find game plentiful where there was a supply of water. They also camped close to the large water-holes or other permanent water, except during the wet seasons.

The chief tribe occupying the valley below Brewarrina was the *Barkinji*, sometimes called *Parkinji*. They were a strong and powerful people, who were divided into a number of smaller tribes, each of whom had its own special customs. However, these were substantially the same from Wentworth to Brewarrina. Above this point the *Kamilaroi* people occupied a similar position. The customs of the *Barkinji* and *Kamilaroi* were quite different in many respects, the basic difference being that the *Barkinji* were divided into two-class intermarrying groups and the *Wiradjuri* and *Kamilaroi* into four-class groups but all counted descent through the mother.

With regard to their material culture, no cylcons were found above Brewarrina and no carved trees below this point. In the country once occupied by the *Barkinji*, we find examples of the following objects of material culture and ritual practices : cylcons, widows' caps, grave markers, grooved axes, stone arrangements, stone mounds, engraved rocks, rock paintings and stencilling. In the territory above Brewarrina, trees were carved or incised at both ceremonial and burial grounds.

A brief description of each of the above is here given.

Cylcons. The word cylcon is a portmanteau word used to describe certain types of implements, which were known as cylindro-, conical and cornute stones. These stones were first described by Etheridge, later by Kenyon and Mahoney, and in 1942 by myself. Cylcons were divided by Kenyon and Mahoney into four types, cylindrical, conical, cornute and phacoid, and I followed their classification. They are found along the Darling River Valley from Wentworth to Brewarrina, but the centre seems to have been an area between Wilcannia and Tilpa and north along the Paroo River to Goorimpa Station. Very few have been found below Pooncarie or above Brewarrina. They extend west into South Australia, but once past the watershed of the Darling River only odd specimens are found. The same applies to any

¹ This paper was read before Section F of the biennial meeting of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science held at Hobart in January, 1949.

September, 1949.]

MANKIND.

[PLATE G.



Fig. 1. Carved tree at Bonartsay ceremonial ground, Barwon River, near Mogil Mogil.



Fig. 2. Rock paintings at Gundabooka, showing stencilled hand.



Fig. 3. Incised cylon, found on Wilga Station, near Wilcannia



Fig. 4. Engraved rocks at Stuart's Meadows.

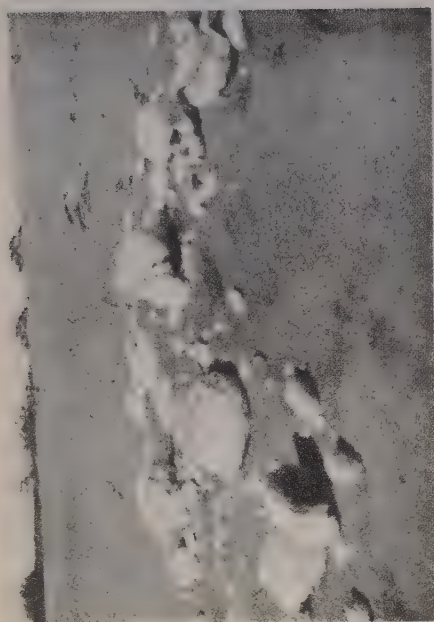


Fig. 6. 'Caps' and Grave Markers shown in situ. Found at edge of Yarril Lake, Culgotha Station, Murrumbidgee.



Fig. 8. Fish Traps, Darling River at Brewarrina. (Photo by courtesy of J. Tyrell, Sydney.)

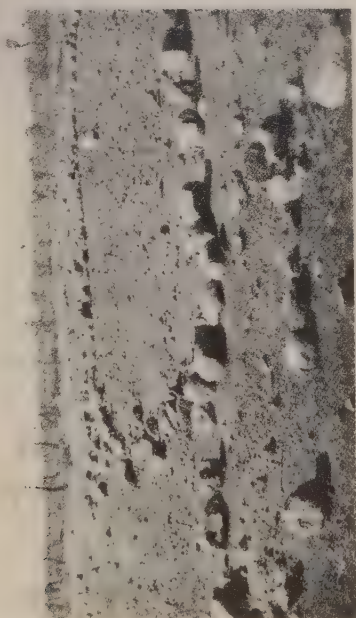


Fig. 5. Stone arrangement on Purnanga Station.

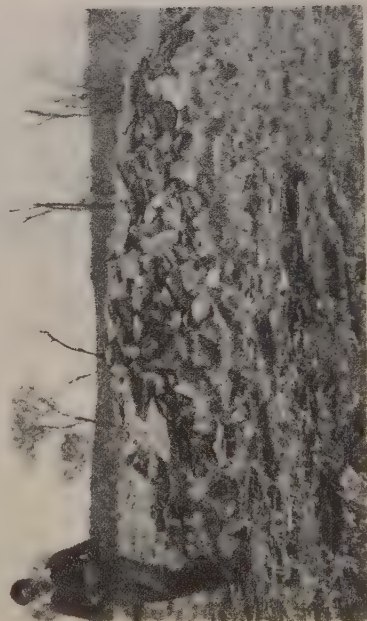


Fig. 7. Stone Mound on Koonawarra Station.

area more than 50 miles east of the Darling. It would appear that during wet seasons the Aborigines followed all the tributaries of the Darling but could go no further as they then came in contact with the dry belt which extends from the Murray to the Cooper on the west and on the east a very large dry area between the Darling and the Lachlan Rivers. The cylindrical and conical types are found over the whole of this area, but the phacoids are mostly confined to territory within 50 miles of Tilpa. The greatest number of cornutes are found in the Wilcannia district. I have found a greater percentage of the cornute type around Wongalarra Lake on Cultowa Station than in any other place. Many of the cylindricals and conicals are incised, but very few cornutes or phacoids. About 50% of all varieties have a cup at the base. In nearly all cases where phacoids are incised, it is along the short straight edge and the markings are like a laced shoe.

Widows' Caps. These objects were made from *kopi* or gypsum and were worn by the widows of a headman of a tribe and sometimes by other close relatives. The widows' hair was cut with a stone knife or burning stick and a net made from grass or some other material was placed over it; then layer after layer of this *kopi* material was plastered over the head. The period they were worn is not clear, as different times have been given by early observers. At various sections along the Darling, different types were used and some weighed up to 15 pounds. Along the lower Darling the widows simply sat beside the grave and placed lumps of *kopi* over their heads, thus forming very rough caps. In the Menindee district they were more neatly made, having the shape of a thick skull cap; layer after layer being plastered over a drying surface until they were about two inches thick. Above Wilcannia they were higher and extended about four or five inches over the skull. In the Tilpa South district many were high and had the appearance of a tall helmet. They extended up to nine inches above the head and were hollow. In order to attain this shape, grass or some other material was placed over the head and *kopi* plastered over the lot. I am not sure whether the caps were placed in the grave with the dead at burial, but am more inclined to believe they were placed on top of the grave. Those that I have found have all been mingled with the skeleton of the dead warrior. This could be accounted for by the windstorms blowing the sand away at one time and blowing it back at another. By this means both caps and skeleton come together. I have found as many as 16 caps at one grave.

Grave Markers. These are made from the same material as Widows' Caps. At a grave (described by the late Grahame Officer) found near Tilpa there were two rows of these markers, one above the other with the top row slightly overlapping. They were about one foot long, seven inches wide and four inches thick at the extremes. They were flattened at one side by the soft material resting on the ground immediately after being made and had the appearance of a baker's loaf before being placed in the oven. In the Menindee district, markers were much smaller, oval-shaped and about five inches long and two inches in diameter.

Grooved Axes. These are mostly found in the Wilcannia-Tilpa district and along the Paroo River. Nearly all are made from grey quartzite, but a few from diorite. Quartzite is found in the district but the diorite was traded from other tribes.

Stone Arrangements. These are rows of stones placed side by side forming circles, enclosures and various other arrangements. In this territory there are no large trees which could be incised or carved and used in the same way as in the Kamilaroi area except along the river bank. Along the Darling River Valley, stone arrangements are only found west of the Darling and Warrego Rivers and above a line drawn west from Wilcannia. On the K Tank

Station, about 20 miles north of Broken Hill, is the most southerly one known to the author. I have not heard of any others for at least 100 miles north of this one. A large one on Dunlop Station is the most easterly one known. The position of this one on Dunlop is about 40 miles west of the Warrego and 30 miles north of the Darling. C. C. Towle described a small one close to Warren in central N.S.W., but it only contained a few stones. Others have been located along the east coast. Stone arrangements extend across from N.S.W. into Queensland towards Cooper's Creek, but how far beyond the Cooper I do not know. Dr. Elkin, in his book *The Australian Aborigines*, shows a photograph, taken in North-West Australia, of a secret totem ground which is very similar to those found in the Darling River Valley. Another form of stone arrangement is the set of fish traps at Brewarrina. Here, on a natural sandstone bar across the river, are walls of stone forming enclosures in which fish were caught by the Aborigines. These walls and yards were laid out in such a manner that fish travelling down stream ahead of the muddy water in a rising stream entered the yards. The waiting Aborigines simply blocked up the gaps or gates and captured large quantities of fish. This is one of the few known instances of the Aborigines making any provision for the storage of food.

Stone Mounds. At many places in Australia observers have recorded stone mounds, and there are a few in the Darling River Valley, the largest set being at Koonawarra Station, about 100 miles north-east from Broken Hill, where there is a row of five. The largest I have seen is on K Tank Station and is about 40 feet long, 15 feet wide and about 6 feet high. Sir George Grey, on one of his trips through central Australia, described two mounds (*Sir George Grey's Travels*, Vol. I, p. 227). On Poolamacca Station, about 40 miles north from Broken Hill, are a number of small mounds in a group which are known to be graves, but those at Koonawarra are certainly ceremonial but no one has been able to give an explanation as to why they were made.

Engraved Rocks and Rock Paintings. At many places west of the Darling River are found rocks engraved in many designs, including animals, footmarks of animals and birds and various symbols. They are not actually engravings, but the rock is pitted to form the designs. Engravings are generally found on a flat rock surface such as at Sturt's Meadows Station, about 80 miles due north from Broken Hill, where there are acres of these engravings. There are no engraved rocks in the Darling River Valley east of the river, but rock paintings are found on both sides. I have never found engravings and paintings together, but they may only be a short distance apart, such as at Mootwingie and Koonawarra. Paintings are generally found on the walls of rock shelters rather than actual caves. Colours used are white, red, black and yellow. There are many designs including kangaroos, emus, human forms and various symbols. Paintings are found in an area between Wilcannia and Broken Hill and within a short distance from the Darling between Tilpa and Bourke on the east side with the most easterly at Gundabooka Range. Stencilled hands and, in a few instances, other designs such as boomerangs, tomahawks and in one case a lizard are found in the Darling River Valley. In all cases where there are paintings stencilled hands are found, but in some instances there are stencilled hands but no paintings.

Flaked Implements. To a degree, these are found over the whole area, but in many places they are very crude and scarce. The territory in which the finest specimens are found is an area between Wilcannia and the Queensland border along the Paroo River and west to South Australia. Suitable material was the first consideration, and in this territory, which is most prolific in this class of specimen, such material is plentiful. I will specially mention

pirries, as probably they are the finest chipped implements made by the Aborigines of south-eastern Australia. These are plentiful along the Paroo River from Moomba to Tonga Stations and west past Tibooburra to South Australia. I have never found any *pirries* south of the Broken Hill-Menindee railway line and very few east of the Paroo River in this Darling River Valley. On a trip taken with R. T. M. Pescott and S. R. Mitchell, we specially hunted for this type of implement, commencing at Louth and travelling on the north side of the Darling to the Paroo River. We found one near Louth, none on Dunlop Station, and a few on Kallara, the total being less than a dozen after searching for three days east of the Paroo. I have never found any east of the Darling River and here all the flaked implements are very rough. There are more about Yancannia and Moomba Stations than any place I have seen in the Darling River Valley. They are fairly plentiful on Connulpie Downs and Yandama Stations, which are right in the north-west corner of N.S.W. In this area, where *pirries* are plentiful, the finest types of all flaked implements are found.

Carved Trees. Above Brewarrina it was the custom to carve or incise trees. Near this point is the boundary between the two great Darling River Valley tribes, the Barkinji and the Kamilaroi. The Kamilaroi carved or incised trees at ceremonial grounds and this custom extended to the Queensland border and as far south to a line drawn approximately from Cobar east to Warren then in a north-easterly direction to Coonamble then extending due east. South of this line was the Wiradjuri people, whose territory extended to the Murrumbidgee. The Wiradjuri also carved trees, but mostly at burial grounds. At ceremonial areas the carved designs were in many cases unlike those at burial grounds, but a great number were common to both, the greatest difference being that, at ceremonial grounds, the outline of human forms, snakes, lizards and animals are shown, but none of these appears at burial grounds. Again, at burial grounds there were generally only three trees, but as many as five have been found, and the grave was in the central position with the glyph facing the grave. At ceremonial grounds great numbers of trees were carved, and I have personally counted 82 at the Banarway area. In mentioning the Wiradjuri it would appear that I have departed from the Darling River. However, as mentioned above, this great river passes under different names as one travels towards Queensland, but it can rightly be called the Darling River Valley as the carved trees of the Kamilaroi and Wiradjuri are along the tributaries of the Darling, such as the Macquarie, Bogan and Namoi, but the Barwon is really the main river above Brewarrina. Between the Kamilaroi and Wiradjuri on the eastern side and the Barkinji on the west was another important tribe or nation called the Wonghibon. This Wonghibon tribe extended over a large area. The Lachlan was the only river in their territory and they do not appear to have left any especially interesting examples of their material culture. I think the shortage of permanent water in their territory made them really a tribe of little lasting importance.

I have made many trips through the Darling River Valley and nearly every time find some items of special interest, such as new ceremonial grounds, art galleries and stone mounds. I invariably add to my collection of cylcons. I feel that for a long time to come it will be a rich and prolific field for investigation. The Aborigines of the Darling River Valley were a fine race and it is indeed a calamity to see how few remain.

R. LINDSAY BLACK.

Australia : Linguistics.

Capell.

Some Myths of the Garadjeri Tribe, Western Australia. By A. Capell, M.A., Ph.D., Reader, Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney. (Continued from Vol. IV, No. 2.)

TEXT III. ESTABLISHMENT OF MARRIAGE CLASSES.

1. *Balagud'ara marŋo muwar jindanabulad'ānagu.* 2. *N'undu garimba, n'undu*
Those-two men speech they-two-talk-to-them. You Karimba, you
bal'eri, n'undu banaga, n'undu buruŋu. 3. *D'ando garimba bal'erigura, buruŋu*
Paldjeri you Panaga, you Burong. Wife Karimba of-Paldjeri, Burong
banagagura d'ando. 4. *Marŋo buruŋu, banaga d'ando.* 5. *Marŋo garimba, d'ando*
of-Panaga wife. Man Burong, Panaga wife. Man Karimba, wife
bal'eri. 6. *Ūaḍu gaga buruŋu? Bal'eri. Guḍan' buruŋu, d'ābulu banaga.*
Paldjeri. Who uncle Burong? Paldjeri. Mother Burong, father Panaga.
7. *Jago bal'eri garimba d'ando, Banaga ḍalu.* 8. *Buruŋu garimbagu ḍalu.*
Husband Paldjeri, Karimba wife, Panaga wm. Burong for-Karimba wm.
9. *Buruŋu ḍalu garimbagu. Bal'eri ḍalu banagagu.*
Burong wm. for-Karimba. Paldjeri wm. for-Panaga.
10. *Mabu, jindanaŋa. Mulāl d'ugurul' ; d'ugurul', n'ura rawari.* 11. *Mabu n'ura.*
Good, they said. Not err; err, you die. Good you.
Ūad'ugu n'anu muwar bina garia, mabu n'ura. N'irāni jālira. Ūawai. 12. *N'ura*
Me-for if talk hear good you. After again. Yes. Good
mabu. Ūuni jān'ārīl'a, warain jaraŋu gaḍi. 13. *Ūawai, galaia au, galaia*
you. This-way we-two-go, another place to. Yes, then, all-right
n'unbula maḍi. 14. *D'aḍilu! Gad'eri jārabula warain gaḍi ŋura.* 15. *Balabala*
you-two walk. Poor-fellows! Far they-two-go another to place. There
marŋo ba d'ando wandaja. Jārānibula. 16. *Ūana n'ura jirāru? Ūan'a mulāl*
men and women are. They-two come. What you names? We no
jirāru, ŋanan ŋan'a. 17. *Wandaja garibila. N'undu banaga, n'undu garimba, n'undu*
names, fools we. They-are standing. You Panaga, you, Karimba, you
bal'eri, n'undu buruŋu. 18. *Ūawai. Warain gaḍi ŋura jān'ārīl'a, jindālgul'ad'ānagu*
Paldjeri, you Burong. Yes. Another to place we-two-go, we-two-shall-tell-
ŋala muwar mabu. Mulāl d'ugurul'! Ūawai, mabu n'unbula. 19. *Galaia*
them then talk good. Not err! Yes, good you-two. Then
jārabula. Gumbār ŋan'anu warain marŋo. Gagamara muwar jindaru. 20. *Ūana*
they-two-go. Gumbār saw other men. Gagamara said-to-him: What
gaḍ'a, babala? Wan'd'awan'd'a? Ūunia garibila. Mīra gān'iriŋalin'a.
is-it, brother? Where? This-way standing. He-is-looking-at-us-two.
21. *Warugu janguli gin'ānga gaḍi, d'ai gulila. Wan'd'a d'ānga marŋo*
Quickly let-us-two-go him to, we-shall-meet. Where at men
n'unbala? Ūal'a Gagamara, Gumbār. Ūan'a gala mabu. 22. *N'undu garimba,*
you-two? We-two Gagamara, Gumbār. We now good. You Karimba,
n'undu bal'eri, n'undu banaga, n'undu buruŋu. 23. *Ūawai. Mulāl d'ugurul'! Galaia*
you Paldjeri, you Panaga, you Burong. Yes. Not err! Then
ŋal'a wuḍu marŋo gud'ara. 24. *Muwar n'uragura ŋal'ālu. Mabu. Ūanan ŋan'a.*
we-two big men two. Talk yours we. Good. Foolish we.

- Qawai.* 25. *Dana ñan'arijuru?* *Gui ba giribad'u ba.* 26. *Wai mai?* *Qawai.*
 Yes. What are-you-eating? Meat and honey and. ? food? Yes.
Galaia mai. *Mabu. Gui ba . . .* 27. *Dana gui?* *Bira d'anga. Wandaja.*
 Now food. Good. Meat and . . . What meat? Bush in. They are.
N'ura garimba, n'ura bal'eri, n'ura banaga, n'ura buruñu. 28. *Jän'aril'a. Wan'd'a*
 You Karimba, you Paldjeri, you Panaga, you Burong. We-two-go. Where
gaði? *Gara d'urari gaði. Miñra gangulein'a marnjo d'urari d'anga.*
 to? West sea to. We-shall-look-at men sea at.
 29. *Bala, d'ungu. Wuñu d'ungu, bulgun. Malu bala, marnjo ba d'ando.*
 There, fire. Big fire, smoke. Many there, men and women.
 30. *Janguli. Marnjo gud'ara bala jän'aribula. Iñadu gin'ängud'ara?* *ñal'a*
 Let-us-two-go. Men two there they-come. Who those-two? We-two
Gagamara, Gumbar. 31. *Mabu n'umbala, jän'aribulani. Nad'a gui, wilar,*
Gagamara (and) Gumbar. Good you-two, come-along. Here meat, turtle,
warain gui . . . 32. *Nanguru miñanu. Dana n'ura?* *Dan'a N'anumara. Miñanu*
 other meat . . . They clever. What you? We Njangumada. Clever
gin'ängarañu. Wai n'ura miñanu? *Qawai, ñan'a miñanu.* 33. *Nad'a banaga,*
 those. ? you clever? Yes, we clever. Here Panaga,
garimba, bal'eri, buruñu. 34. *Gala, d'ando ñad'ugura buruñu . . .*
 Karimba, Paldjeri, Burong. Now, wife my Burong . . .
 35. *Mañdi jän'aril'a. Gala jän'aribula. Wan'd'a gaði?* *Qunia, gara,*
 Walking we-two-go. They go. Where to? This way, west,
Gudanbari. 36. *Qawai, mabu. N'awa, babala, wangu. Wan'd'a?* *Balaia.*
 (to) Gudanbari. Yes, good. See, brother, a stone. Where? There.
Gudanbari! *Dana nad'a?* *D'id'ili d'anga.* 37. *Gangura garibula gin'ängud'ara.*
 (It is) Gudanbari. What here? Djidjili at. Up stand they-two.
Qura miñra gan'aribula. Bañu. *Wan'd'a gaði janguli, babala?* *Gara*
 Country they-two-look-at. (It is) Badu. Where to shall-we-two-go, brother? West
janguli, Gulan'gulan'a. 38. *Wan'd'a?* *Miñra ga gara. Gan'd'ina, wuñu*
 let-us-two-go, (to) Gulan'gulanja. Where? Look west. Gandjina, big
niamari. Wan'd'a gaði janguli? *Gul'a, gangura. Wangu gangura.* 39. *Gul'a*
 hill. Where to shall-we-two-go? South, up. Stone on-top. South
janguli. Duni gaði gumbara. Bañamiri marnjo ba d'ando wanadaja.
 let-us-two-go. Hither to rock. Perhaps men and women are.
 40. *Balabala gud'ara marnjo gui d'ingaribula. Wan'd'anga?* *Bala*
 There two men, kangaroo they-are-killing. Where? There
bunduñga. 41. *Janguli. D'aigulibulagu. Qawai. Bañamiri guli d'añu*
 on-the-plain. Let-us-two-go (and) meet-them-too. Yes. Perhaps angry
gin'ängud'ara? 42. *D'angu janguli. Balabala marnjo jän'aribula. Gud'ara.*
 those-two? Let-us-two-take-care. There men (two) are-coming Two.
Wan'd'a d'anga? *Walan'u.* 43. *Iñadu n'umbala?* *Iñal'a banaga, buruñu. Wan'd'a*
 Where at? Strangers. Who you-two? We-two Panaga, Burong. Where
d'anga nura? *Gangura nad'a nura ñal'agura. Qawai.* 44. *Dana n'ura?*
 at country? Up here country of-us-two. Yes. What you?
Muwar nana? *Iñala. Mabu n'ura?* *Mabu ñan'a.* 45. *Iñadu gud'ara n'umbala?*

Language what? Nga:la. Good you? Good we. Who two you-two?
Ŋal'a Gagamara ba Gumbar. D'ābulu n'umbala? Banaga, jindan. 46. *N'umbala*
 We-two Gagamara and Gumbar. Fathers-you-two? Panaga, he-says. You-two
gaga. Mabu. N'umbala miranu. Wan'd'a wanadi walibi n'uragu? Ŋunia, bala
 uncles. Good. You-two clever. Where is camp-to-you? This way, there
wubadunga niamari. 47. *D'ando balaia wanadaja. Wai margo? Mulāl, ŋal'a*
 on-little hill. Women there are. ? Men? No, we-two
gud'ara margo. 48. *Malu d'ando, banaga, buruyu, bal'eri, garimba d'ando.*
 two men. Plenty women, Panaga, Burong, Paldjeri, Karimba women.
Jāngun'a walibi gaḍi. 49. *D'ando jindaja, Wan'd'a d'anga margo? Gaga ba*
 Let-us-go camp to. Women say, Where at men? Uncle and
d'ābulu, Gagamara, Gumbar jirāru. 50. *Wan'd'a guru? Gad'eri guru nura.*
 father, Gagamara, Gumbar names. Where from? Far from country.
Gulban'āribula Gagamara ba Gumbar. Ŋawai, mabu. 51. *Wambar*
 They-two-are-returning Gagamara and Gumbar. Yes, good. Hungry
ŋan'āribula? Nad'a mai. Juwara bilin'āra. 52. *Nanguru gui, mulāl giribad'u.*
 eat-they-two? Here food. Keep it all. Those meat, no honey.
Gala, mabu. Mir ŋal'agu. Nad'a gabali n'umbalagura, nanguru nad'a gud'ara.
 So, good. Full to-us-two. Here wives of-you-two, those here two.
 53. *Ŋawai, nad'a n'umbalagura woba. Nad'a guḍain n'umbalagura.* 54. *Nad'a*
 Yes, here your-two child. Here mothers of-you-two. Here
gaḷudu, nad'a gami. Nanguru gabaḷi. Bala gud'aralu muwar jindaribula.
 grandfather here grandmother. Those wives. There two are-talking.
 55. *Mabu, gul'a jāngun'a ŋala ŋal'agura gaḍi nura. Gala, mabu.*
 Good, south let-us-go then our-two to country. So, good.

Translation.

1. The two men were speaking to (another group of people). 2. "You are Karimba, you are Paldjeri, you are Panaga, you are Burong." 3. A Karimba woman is wife of a Paldjeri, a Burong of a Panaga. 4. If the man is Burong, the woman will be Panaga. 5. If the man is Karimba, the woman will be Paldjeri. 6. Who is uncle of a Burong? A Paldjeri. If the mother is Burong, the father is Panaga. 7. If the husband is Paldjeri, the wife is Karimba, the mother-in-law will be Panaga. 8. A Burong woman is mother-in-law to a Karimba man. 9. A Paldjeri is mother-in-law to a Panaga man. "Good," they said. "Don't make any mistake" (said the brothers). "If you make mistakes, you will die." 11. You are good fellows. If you listen to what I say you are good fellows. And no back again. "All right." 12. "You are good fellows. We are going this way, to another place." 13. "All right, then," said the others, "All right, off you-two-go." 14. (So the brothers went off, and the others looking at them, said), "Poor fellows, they-two are going a long way to another country."

15. There are men and women there. The two (brothers) come along. 16. "What are your names?" (they ask the group). "We have no names" (they reply), "we are foolish people." 17. They stand still (and the Brothers say), "You are Panaga, you are Karimba, you are Paldjeri, you are Burong." 18. "All right" (is the reply). "We are going to another country" (say the brothers). "We shall tell them (there also), and then

their talk will be good. Don't you make any mistakes!" "All right" (answer the men), "you-two are good fellows." 19. So the two go off. Gumbar saw another man. 20. Gagamara said to him, "What is it, brother? Whereabout?" "Standing over there" (said Gumbar), looking at us-two. 21. "Let us go quickly to him and meet him." (When they met, the man said), "What men are you two?" "We are Gagamara and Gumbar" (they answered). "We are good people."⁸ 22. "You" (said the brothers) are Karimba, you Paldjeri, you Panaga, you Burong." 23. "Yes" (they replied). "Now don't make any mistakes about it!" (warned the brothers), "you know we are two big men (i.e. important men). 24. We know your talk." "Good. We are uninstructed." "Yes, you are." 25. "What are you eating?" (continued the brothers). "Meat and honey." 26. "Have you any (vegetable) food?" "Yes, there is (vegetable) food." "Good" (said the brothers). "There's meat (repeated the men) and . . ." 27. "What meat?" "It's in the bush" (they said). "There it is." "You fellows" (said the brothers) "are Karimba, you others Paldjeri, you Panaga, you Burong. 28. Now we are going away." "Where to?" "Westwards, towards the sea" (replied the brothers). "We are going to see the people along the coast."

29. (As the two went on, one cried out), "There, fire! A big fire, and smoke. There are plenty of men there, men and women. 30. Let us two go." The two men arrive there. "Who are those two?" (ask the men). "We are Gagamara and Gumbar" (was the reply), 31. "You two are good fellows, come along in. Here is meat for you—turtle and other meat . . ." 32. (Then amongst themselves), "They are clever men." "What are you people?" (asked the brothers). "We are Njangumada" (was the answer). "They are clever people. Are fellows clever?" "Yes, we are clever. 33. Here is a Panaga, here a Karimba, here a Paldjeri, here a Burong. 34. Now, my wife is Burong . . ." (and so on, said the men).

35. (Then said the two brothers): "We are going on." "Good-bye, then, where are you going?" "Over here, westwards to Gudangbari." 36. "All right, then." (Off they both go, and bye and bye one says), "See, brother, a stone." "Where?" "There" (pointing). "That's Gudangbari." "What is there here?" (asked the other brother). "That is at Djidjili." 37. The two of them are standing on top, looking about at the country. "That's Badu" (says one). "Which way shall we go, brother?" "Let us go west to Gulanjgulanja." 38. "Where is it?" (asked the other). "Look over to the west" (replied the brother). "That big (sand) hill is Gandjina. Now where shall we go?" "Southwards, upwards, up on the stone (hill)." 39. "Very well, let us go south, to this rock across here. There may be men and women." 40. "There are two men, hunting kangaroos" (said one of the brothers). "Where are they?" "There on the plain." 41. "Let us go and meet them." "All right, then. But suppose they are savage?" 42. "We must just take care about that!" (The other two men notice them and say to each other), "There are men coming, two of them." "Where are they?" "They are strangers." 43. (On the brothers' arrival they ask), "Who are you-two?" "We-two are Panaga and Burong." "Of what country?" "This is our country, up here" (answer the two hunters). 44. "Oh! What are you?" (ask the brothers), "What language?" "Nga:la." "Are your people good (i.e. instructed)?" "We are instructed. 45. And who may you-two be?" "We are

⁸ Apparently other men come and join the first speaker, as *ngana*, "we (excl.)" is now used, but the fact is not mentioned. It is implied by the two brothers' next remark.

Gagamara and Gumbar." "Are you fathers" (they are asked). "We are Panaga," replies one. 46. "Then you-two are uncles." "Good. You-two are clever men. Where is your people's camp?" "It's across here on that little hillock. 47. There are women there." "Are there men?" (ask the brothers). "No" (the other two answer), "We are the only two men. 48. There are plenty of women; Panaga, Burong, Paldjeri and Karimba women. Let's all go to the camp." 49. (As they see them approaching) the women say, "What are these men?" (and the two hunters reply), "Uncle and father; Gagamara and Gumbar are their names." 50. "Where do they come from?" (ask the women). "They come from a far country. Gagamara and Gumbar are returning." "Oh, that's good. 51. Are they hungry? Here is (vegetable) food. Keep it all." 52. The people have meat, but no honey. (After eating, the brothers say), "So, that was good. Now we are full." (The others tell them). "Here are wives for you-two, these two just here. 53. Yes, and here are children for you. Here are mothers for you. 54. Here grandfathers, here grandmothers. That lot are wives." Those two are talking. 55. "Good; then let us all go south to the country of us-two" (say the brothers). "All right, good" (is the answer).

Notes.

This text is more straightforward than the other two, but still a good deal has to be supplied in brackets in the translation. The two brothers themselves have the section system and simply go about from place to place, in a predominantly south-western direction, imposing it by their own fiat on others, when they find it is not known already. It appears to be already known to most of the Njangumada and Nga:la tribes.⁹ As these lie in the direction of the brothers' presumed journey, and already have the sections, the story becomes rather strange.

Sections 1-9 of the story are a general statement of the section system. In actual narration the informant here went off on to his own section relationships and had to be brought back to the story. The terms *mabu* (good), *miṛanu* (clever) as against *ṇaṇan* (foolish) are used throughout the text practically as technical terms, "instructed," "holding the proper marriage system," as against "raw," "uninstructed," "breaking the marriage laws." So in 16, *ṇan'a mulāl jirāru*, "we have no names," does not refer to personal names, but to section names. Incidentally, in this case no tribal name is asked for or given, either. On the other hand, the man spoken to in 22 volunteers the information that his people are already "good." Compare 32, where the Njangumada make the same claim to have knowledge already. It is apparently they themselves who do the cataloguing in 33. 35 is the usual native method of saying good-bye. "We are going now." "All right, then, go." It is not meant as abruptly as it sounds. The same rule holds in the Northern Kimberlies. Gudangbari, Djidjili and Gandjina are not found in Dr. Elkin's map, but Badu is given as a horde-country, well inland from La Grange.¹⁰ It looks as though the brothers are conceived as coming from the direction of Mangala country. Unfortunately I was not able to collect

⁹ The Njangumada country lies south-west of Garadjeri country, from about Anna Plains to the De Grey River. The Nga:la occupy the other side of the De Grey, along the coast, with the Njamal on their inland side. For the former, see Mrs. D. Bates, "Social Organization of Some Western Australian Tribes," *Austr. Assoc. Adv. Sci.*, XIV, and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "The Distribution of Native Tribes in Part of Western Australia," *Man*, 1912, No. 12. The same sources serve for the Nga:la.

¹⁰ See *Studies in Australian Totemism*, p. 23. *Badu* is No. 24 on the map and in the list of horde-countries.

Mangala myths. The remainder of the text is grammatically straightforward. The only question remaining, viz. what are Njangumada and Nga:la doing so far out of their own territories? is not answerable. It is rather interesting that at the end the two brothers take all the other party back to their own (the brothers') country, but the text seems quite definite on this.

The fourth text deals with the establishment of Increase Rites. The rite itself is called *naŋn'in* in both the Garadjeri and the Jauor languages. *Naŋn'ina* is given by Dr. Elkin as the Njul-njul for "increase song" in "Studies in Australian Totemism," *Oceania Monograph* No. 2, p. 50. See further notes on the Jauor ideas in the appendix to this paper. The talu-site is called *baluga*, and in the plural as in the text *balugarayū*. The culture hero Ngurudjāwuru will reappear in a later text.

TEXT IV. ESTABLISHMENT OF INCREASE RITES.

1. *Gagamara ba Gumbar jinbalajala balugarayū gui gura.* 2. *Naŋn'in maŋu*
Gagamara and Gumbar ordained talu-sites kangaroo of. Rites made
Ŋurud'āwuru. Jindaŋu : ŋawai. D'ind'ālgurin ŋura ŋad'ugura nad'a. 3. *Wan'd'a*
Ngurudjāwuru. He said: Yes. Djindjālgurin country my this. Where
jinban ŋala naŋn'in? Jinban ŋala guigu. D'urar d'angagu gui. 4. *Bala*
shall I fix them rites? I-shall-fix them meat-for. Sea at-for meat. He
miŋa gān'iri gui. Ŋuni jāra, ŋuni wubaŋu mūri. 5. *Bi:ri, n'undulu*
sees meat. This way he goes, this-way little creek. Bi:ri, you
miŋa ga; n'irāni d'angagu marŋo ba d'ando. Nad'a gui gin'ānga gaŋagura,
look; behind at-for men and women. Here meat it belonging-to-west.
Wanguru d'anga, ŋaba ŋuru d'anga. 6. *Ŋawai. (Malumalu ŋura jirāru). Ŋuni*
Wanguru d'anga, ŋaba ŋuru d'anga. 6. *Ŋawai. (Malumalu ŋura jirāru). Ŋuni gad'a*
Wanguru at, water from in. Yes. Malumalu place name. Hither (is)
magur, wiŋiri mala gui gangara, buŋada gaŋi ŋura. 7. *Balaia, n'undugura mirad'a.*
road, drag meat above, dry to place. There your look.
Ŋana бага? Bandarayū, n'undugu wulguru. 8. *Ŋawai. Mingin, ŋad'u ŋawari*
What tree? Bandarayū, you-for shade. Yes. Wait, I die
jālira, n'undu n'irāni. N'undu waŋalaŋu. 9. *Bi:ri jindaŋu : ŋawai. Nad'a gui*
before, you after. You youth. Bi:ri said: yes. Here meat
baŋanu, biriga muruwaran. Gala jirāru ŋura, balaia mūri Gaidgada. 10. *Nad'a*
salmon, biriga, muruwaran. Now name country, that creek Gaidgada. Here
gui, malu gui nad'anga ŋura. Naŋn'in d'anga d'iri. 11. *Ŋawai, gala mabu.*
meat, plenty meat in-here country. Rite in Yes, then good.
Gaŋnir, jirāru gin'ānga Gaoganāmbi. 12. *Ŋadugura? D'ānmān'ilagura, buruŋu, d'ando*
Garnir, name that-one Gaiganāmbi. Whose? Djānmānjila's, Burong, woman
Badagan. 13. *Gui ŋalgun'a ŋanar. Ŋana warain? Birgadin'a. Mabu gui.*
Badagan. Meat let us eat porpoise. What else? Dugong. Good meat.
14. *Mulan'ŋga maŋa. Ŋana ŋura? Lambirmarŋad'i, Mulan'gura.*
At Mulang sits. What country? Lambirmardadji, belonging-to-Mulanj.
15. *Muluŋul ŋuru juguru, marŋo ba d'ando, Guridi jirāru balagu-d'aragura, marŋo*
Mulungul from dog, male and female, Guridi name of-them-two, male

- Baljeri, d'ando Garimba.* 16. *Ganiŋ ɲuraŋga jän'äri ɲuni ɲuru, garibila*
Paldjeri, female Karimba. Under in-ground he-goes hither from, stand
garin'äribula gangara Migiganga. 17. *Wan'd'a ɲura nad'a?* *Guimbina, lani*
 they-two-do above at-Migiga. Where country here? *Guimbina, close*
Migiga. Juguru d'ando wobabari. 18. *Jära ɲaba n'awa ɲaligura. ɲawai.*
Migiga. Dog female pregnant. Go water look for-us-two. Yes.
 19. *Wanadaja marŋo wulguru. ɲananga?* *Digil.* 20. *Galagala nad'a lani*
 Are men shade. At-what? *Bahenia-tree.* Then here close
ɲura ɲabagura. 21. *Wai ɲaba?* *Nad'a lani ɲaba. Gungunara d'andogu*
 place of-water. ? water. Here close water. I'll-bring-for-her for-woman
nad'aŋga binga. 22. *Gala gangunara ɲaba. Walga d'äri. Warugu, wai wanadin,*
 in-this conch. Then I'll-bring-her water. Thirsty she-is. Quick, ? are-you,
d'ando? *Gala wanann'a.* 23. *Mabu. Nad'a ɲaba n'undugu. Binganga gan'an'a.*
 woman? Now I-am. Good. Here water for-you. In-conch I-have-it.
Gala mabu n'undu. 24. *Gäräl'äriŋ?* *ɲawai. Gäräl'a ɲad'u. Gala janguli;*
 Then good you. Are-you-cold? Yes. Cold I-am. Then let-us-two-go;
ɲura muläl gad'eri, lani Migiga, ɲaba ɲuni wanadi niamariga. ɲananga
 place not far, close Migiga, water this-way is on-hill. In-what
wulguru? 25. *Bandaraŋu. Mabu ɲaligura ɲura. Wai mai wanadi?* *Malu*
 shade? *Bandaraŋu-tree.* Good our-two place. ? food is? *Plenty*
wanadi mai jän'äri ɲuraŋga. 26. *Jani malguli mai. Wambar ɲali. ɲawai.*
 is food nalgo in-place. Let-us-two-make food. Hungry we-two. Yes.
Wai n'undu guigu jängun? *Wan'd'a gaði?* *Bala d'urar gaði. ɲana gui?*
 ? you for-meal going? Where to? There sea to. What meat.
ɲanar. 27. *Gala ganguna gangara walibi gaði. ɲananga?* *Gundid'inanga.*
 Porpoise. Then I'll-bring-it up camp to. With-what? On-shoulder.
 28. *ɲana gui balaia?* *ɲanar. Mabu n'undu marŋo. Wan'd'ar gad'a?* *Mingin,*
 What meat there? Porpoise. Good you man. How (is it)? Wait,
wanadaja. 29. *ɲana?* *Nad'a. ɲana bala binga?* *Wirbinya wubaðu d'aŋga.*
 they-are. What? Here. What that conch? I'll cut it little in.
 30. *D'unğu bunala, wudu d'unğu. Wai d'unğu bo: d'a:la?* *Gala bo: d'an'au.*
 Fire make-for-it, big fire. ? fire blow? Now I am blowing it.
Gala gamban'äri d'unğu. 31. *Mingin, d'unğunga d'änya. ɲana bin'indäri?* *Gala*
 Now is-burning fire. Wait, on fire I'll-put-it. What fat? Then
ɲaligura mabu gui, marŋo. ɲawai. 32. *Gala ɲalguli. Gabu. Gala mabu,*
 our-two good meat, man. Yes. Then let-us-two-eat. Cut. Now good,
mabumabu gui ɲaligura. 33. *Nad'a waragain ɲanar, nad'a nilän mabu.* 34. *Wai*
 very-good meat of-us-two. Here skin (of) porpoise, here flesh good. ?
miŋa gawa ɲura, marŋo jän'äräja? *ɲawai. Nad'a wanann'a niamariga.* 35. *Gui*
 Look country, men coming? Yes. Here I am on-hill. Meat
gambann'a, jindanu marŋulu. Balabala jän'äri Windiringa ɲuru. Wan'd'awa'nd'a
 I-am-cooking, said man. That-one comes Windir from. Where
jän'äri? 36. *Nad'a jän'äribula gul'aŋu. Wan'd'awan'd'a?* *ɲaðu?* *D'äbulu?*
 he-comes? Here two-come south. Where? Who? Father?
Wan'd'a d'aŋga ɲura? 37. *Wanguru Madad'i. Wai jiräru?* *Mangul ba*

Where at country? Wanguru Madadji. ? names? Mangul and
Gan'igan'i. Wan'd'a? Juguru. Duni d'anga, gagara. Mulu d'anga nura.
Ganjiganji. Where? Dogs. This-way at, east. Mulu at country.
Jāranibula lani. 38. Gagaranu jān'ārili. Wai gui? Nad'a
They-two-are-coming close. East we-two-are-going. ? meat? Here
nanar n'umbalagu. Wai laia? Mabu. Galaia, gui Qan'd'oro. 39. Wan'd'a gaḍi
porpoise for-you-two. ? fat? Good. Now, meat we. Where to
n'umbala jāngānbula? Duninga. Wandugujāl'a Malamala. 40. Qawai,
you-two will-go? This-way-at. We-two-will camp (at) Malamala. Yes,
gul'a nuni, jindāribulagu. Wan'd'a Bi:ri? Gagara wanadi, Rola.
south this-way, he-said-to-them-two. Where Bi:ri? East he-is (at) Rola.

Translation.

1. Gagamara and Gumbar ordained increase-sites. 2. (Then) Ngurudjāwuru instituted the rites. He said, "All right, now; this is my country, Djindjälgurin. 3. Where now shall I fix the increase rites? I shall establish them for meat-food,¹¹ that is derived from the sea. 4. He sees a (marine) animal. He goes this way, where there is a little creek. 5. "Bi:ri," he says, "You look, there are men and women behind us. Here is meat-food belonging to west, from the water at Wanguru." 6. "All right," said Bi:ri. (Malumalu is the name of the place.) "Here is a track" (went on Ngurudjāwuru) "Drag the meat up to a dry place. 7. There, where you are looking." "What tree is that?" asked Bi:ri. A *bandarayu* tree, shade for you (to sit in)." "Yes" (said Bi:ri). 8. "Wait now" (resumed Ngurudjāwuru), "I shall die before you do; you are only a youth." 9. And Bi:ri answered, "Yes, that's so." "Here is fish" (said the other), salmon, *biriga* and *muruwaran*. Now the name of the country over there is Gaidgada Creek. 10. There is meat here, plenty of meat in this country. In the increase rite . . . " (text doubtful for next word)." "Yes," (said Bi:ri). "Then that's all right." "There's Garnir, the name of that one is Gaiganāmbi." 12. "Whose (country)?" "Djānmānjila's a Burong man; his wife is Badagan. 13. Now let us two eat porpoise meat." "What else is there?" "Dugong." "That's good meat!" 14. They sit at Mulanj. "What is the country?" (asks Bi:ri). "This is Lambirmardadji, part of Mulanj."

15. From Mulungul there came dogs, man and woman, both named Guridi. The man was Paldjeri, the woman Karimba. 16. They came along underground in this direction, and came up to the surface at Migiga. 17. "What country is this here?" (said one). "This is Guimbina, close to Migiga." Now the woman dog was pregnant. 18. "Now you go and get water for us-two" (she said to her husband). "All right. 19. There are some men in the shade." "What shade?" "That bahenia tree." 20. "Then there must be water close to this spot." "Is there any water about?" (he asks the men). 21. "There is water close here." "I'm going to bring some for my wife in this conch. 22. I'm going to get her some water. She is thirsty." (He comes back with water and calls out), "Are you there, wife?" "Here I am." 23. "Good. Here's some water for you. I've got it in the conch." "You are so good." 24. "Are you cold?" (he asks her). "Yes, I am cold." "Well, then, let us move on; there's a place not far away, near Migiga. There is water

¹¹ See note on II.6 for the ambiguity of the word *gui*, "meat food." This ambiguity is important in this text.

over here on the (sand) hill." "Where is there shade?" 25. "Under that *bandarayu* tree. It will be a good place for us." (They go across to the place, and the woman asks), "Is there (vegetable) food here?" "There is plenty of *nalgo* for food here in the place." 26. "Then let us prepare some food; we are both hungry." "Yes, all right." "Are you going for meat?" (asks the wife). "Where shall I go?" "Down to the salt water there." "What sort of food?" "Porpoise." 27. "All right" (he replies), "I'll bring it back up to the camp." "In what?" "On my shoulder." (He goes off and catches some porpoise and returns.) 28. "What food have you good there?" (asks the wife). "Porpoise." "You good man. How is it?" "Wait, here they are." 29. "What?" "Here." "What is that conch?" "I'll cut it in little pieces." 30. You make a fire for it, a good big fire. Are you going to blow the fire?" "Yes" (says the woman), "I'll blow it. There, now it is burning." 31. "Hold on, I'll put (the fish) on the fire." "What fat is there?" (He shows her that it is a fat porpoise.) "Oh, then" (she says), "that's splendid meat for us two, my man." "Yes." 32. "Then us eat. You cut it." "Good, now, very good meat for us two." 33. "Here's the skin of the porpoise, here is good flesh." (After a pause, during which they eat.) 34. "Will you just look, are those men coming?" "Yes." 35. "And here I am on a hill, cooking meat" (said the man (dog)). "There comes one fellow, from the direction of Windiri." "Which way is he coming?" (asks the wife). 36. "There are two of them this way, coming south." "Whereabout?" "Who is it? Father?" "What country?" 37. "Wanguru Madadji." "What are their names?" "They are Mangul and Ganjiganji." "Where are they?" (asks the wife). "The dogs?" "This way, east, at Mulu country. They two are coming close." 38. "We two are going east. Have you meat?" (he asks the two newcomers). "Here is some porpoise for you two." "Is there any fat?" (they ask). "Good" (they say on receiving some). "Now we all have meat." 39. Where are you two making for?" "This way. We shall camp at Malamala." 40. "Yes, this way, south," the two tell the others. Where is Bi-ri? He is staying east, at Rola.

Notes.

This text is interesting, but has its difficulties, chiefly in the correct assignment of parts to the various speakers. Moreover, the two brothers appear to have been dragged in rather willy-nilly; beyond the choice of sites they have nothing to do with the story. The actual arrangement of the rites rests with Ngurudjåwuru. The explanation probably is that the narrator has taken the case of the porpoise rite as typical, and that the real assignment was in his mind attributed to Gagamara and Gumbar. The story breaks up into two parts, that of Ngurudjåwuru and Bi-ri, and that of the two dogs. The last sentence appears rather in the nature of an "editorial." In 2, Djindjålgurin country is No. 15 on Dr. Elkin's map (the name is given with the locative supplement *-d'a*), practically the site of La Grange Government Station. Both Ngurudjåwuru and Bi-ri appear again in the next text, again in connection with the two brothers. 6. *Wanguru* is Wangur, No. 17 on Dr. Elkin's map. In both 3 and 5 there is the same peculiar grammatical construction, viz. use of *-gu* after other supplements to object-words. In 3, *d'urar d'a-nga-gu*, lit. sea at-in-for, suggests that the phrase *d'urar-d'a-nga* is being treated as a single unit, to which *-gu* is added qualifying the whole, which in its turn depends on *gui* following, "for the food to-be-found-in-the-sea." Garadjeri normally adds the qualifying supplement to the first element of a group in this

way. 7. *Bandarayu* is the name of a tree I was not able to identify. The same applies to the fish *biriga* and *muruwaran* in 9. 10. *Nayn'in d'anga d'iri* is incorrect transcription, and cannot be made out; but the whole idea from 8 to 10 is that Ngurudjåwuru tells Bi:ri that as he is the younger man, likely to live the longer, he had better know how to carry on the rites. The places in 14 are not on the map.

15 changes to the story of the two dogs, who, apparently, are at the same time men, in the genuine manner of culture heroes. The interesting point here is that the informant explained that Ngurudjåwuru was Paldjeri, while apparently the porpoise increase rite is the property of the Burong-Karimba moiety.¹² The two dogs were Paldjeri (the male) and Karimba (the female) respectively. 16. A passage underground is a common feature of these tales, and recurs in Northern Kimberley myths as well as in Central Australia. 17. *Woba-bari* may be either "pregnant" or "possessing a child." See *-bari*, Suppl. A. 1, and *woba*, child. 31. *bin'indāri*, "fat," is a descriptive, and in 38 *laia*, "fat," a noun. 35. *Windiri* is unidentified. The assignment of speaking parts from here to the end is very difficult. 37. *Wanguru Madad'i* looks like No. 31 on Dr. Elkin's map, there spelled Wundurmadadji, but its position, in the far south of Garadjeri territory, is difficult. 40. *Ro:la*, the old Rollah Downs Station, No. 22 on Dr. Elkin's map, and mentioned also in other texts.

For further notes on the actual porpoise-increase rite, see Piddington, "Totemic System of the Karadjeri Tribe," *Oceania*, Vol. II, No. 4, pp. 388-389. His myth is different, however; the leading character, Gadagudi, occurs in Text V below. His son's name, Badu, has already occurred in Text III, 37, as a place name.

In the next text is contained the concluding story of the two brothers. In this they are already dead, and living in *d'ilba*, the Magellanic clouds. But though dead they are still active, and in this instance their activities are turned against the two culture-heroes mentioned in the preceding text, viz. Ngurudjåwuru and Bi:ri.

TEXT V. FURTHER TRAVELS OF THE TWO BROTHERS.

1. *Guð'ara Gagamara ba Gumbar d'ilbanga wandibula gangara.* 2. *Gagamara*
Two Gagamara and Gumbar in Djilba lived above. Gagamara
yandanu. Miṛa gaṇulbula *Durud'awuru.* 3. *D'ingalguli.* *Wai*
hit. They-two-had-been-looking-at Ngurudjåwuru. Let-us-two-hit-him. Eh
n'undu, babala? *d'ābira maṇura Gumbar.* 4. *Danalu d'ingalguli?*
you, brother? answered Gumbar. With-what shall-we-two-hit?
Birimal'u d'ingalguli. 5. *Galaia d'irb ṇalu ganiṇ ṇurnaga d'irb.*
With *birimal* let-us-two-hit. These hurled belly down on-ground hurled.
Jandanubula, mulāl garibila. 6. *Waḍau! Dana d'anga n'unbula?* *Mulāl n'undu wuḍu*
They two hit, not stand. Oh! What at you-two? Not you big
maṇo. Dana n'undu maṇo jirāru? 7. *Qad'u Durud'awuru. Wan'd'a d'anga*
man. What you man name? I Ngurudjåwuru. Where at
ṇura? *Qad'ugura ṇura Migiga.* 8. *Gagamara ba Gumbar jindanbula:*
country? My country Migiga. Gagamara and Gumbar say:
Galaia wanadaja. *Jān'āril'a, gala n'undu ṛawari n'irāni.* 9. *Waṛain*
There-stay (i.e. "good-bye"). We-two-go and you die after. Another

¹² See A. P. Elkin, *Totemism in North-western Australia*, p. 32.

- margo Bi:ri, jän'äri garaŋu. Miŋa gän'iribula. 10. Ūaḍu gud'ara n'umbala?*
 man, Bi:ri, comes from-west. They two see him. Who two you-two?
Gagamara ba Gumbär. D'ingann'umbula Ūurud'awuru, ŋan'd'orogu margo. 11. Muläl
 Gagamara and Gumbär. You-two-hit Ngurudjawuru, our man. Not
n'undu guli d'aḍu. Ūaḍu n'undu margo? Bi:ri. 12. Wan'd'a ŋura n'undu?
 you angry. Who you man? Bi:ri. Where country you?
Ūad'ugura ŋura nad'a. D'ando ŋad'ugura Gal'äli. 13. Gumbärŋu Gagamara
 My country here. Wife my Galjäl. Gumbär and Gagamara
jindanubula, Gala wanadja. 14. Ūuni Bi:ri jindanbulagu: Wanguru gaḍi
 say, "Good-bye." This-way Bi:ri says-to-them-two: Wanguru to
järabula; margo ba d'ando wanadaja malu, mabu margo ba d'ando. 15. Muläl
 go; men and women are plenty, good men and women. Not
guli d'aḍu.
 angry.
16. *Bala margo gud'ara jän'äribula. Jan'd'aŋu balabala wanadaja. 17. Babala*
 There men two go. From-north there they are. Brother,
jänguli warugu. Wan'd'a n'umbala d'anga? Ūal'a Gagamara ba Gumbär.
 let-us-two-go quickly. Where you-two at? We-two Gagamara and Gumbär.
 18. *D'ingann'umbalu Ūurud'awuru. Ūana ŋurin? Giŋ'äŋga wuḍu margo, guli d'aḍu,*
 You-two-hit Ngurudjawuru. What for? He big man, angry,
ŋan'agura margo; gala rawari n'iräni. 19. Ūanalu d'ingann'umbala? Milin'd'u?
 our man; then died after. With what you-two-hit? With-spear?
 20. *Muläl, birimal'u. Rawari buŋgan'äri n'iräni. 21. Baŋamiŋi. Wango jaganbal'a*
 No, with-birimal. Death strikes after. Perhaps. Alive we-two-left
ŋala. Muläl guli n'umbala. Jälira margo wulgu giŋ'äŋgagu d'aragu. 22. Gul'a
 then. Not angry you-two. Before man afraid he will-be. South
gaḍi jän'äri'l'a. Wai margo? Järabula Maŋunu. 23. Ūaḍu margo miŋa
 to we-two-go. ? men? They-two-go (to) Maŋunu. What man they
gabula? Gad'agudi. Ūawai. N'äŋan'äbula d'uŋgu ba bulgun; niamari ŋuru
 two-see? Gad'agudi. Yes. They-two-see fire and smoke; hill from
jän'äribula. 24. Bala margo giŋ'äŋga wanadi. Järanibula. Ūana gui?
 they-two-go. There man that camps. They-two-approach. What meat?
 25. *Gui? Ūaḍu gud'ara n'umbala? Ūal'a Gagamara ba Gumbär. Nad'a gui*
 Meat? Who two you-two? We-two Gagamara and Gumbär. Here meat
n'umbalagu. 26. Gui ŋalabula. Ūana gui? Baŋanu. Nad'a mai,
 for-you-two. Meat they-start-to-eat. What meat? Salmon. Here food,
järiŋ'äri. 27. Muläl giribad'u. D'urarid'a wanann'a lani. Ūuni giribad'u gagara
 nalgo. No honey. At-sea I-camp close. Hither honey east
bi.ranga. 28. Nad'a gui män'an. Balabala gulibil. Mabu bala gui. Gad'agudi
 in-bush. Here meat only. There turtle. Good that meat. Gad'agudi
d'äbir manbilin'a, Wai margo? 29. Wanguru, galaia, balaia wanadaja.
 talked-to-them-two, ? men? Wanguru, there, there they-are.
D'ai'l'a Wanguru, margo ba d'ando. Wai wanadaja malu? Wan'd'a gaḍi
 We-two-come Wanguru, men and women. ? are many? Where to
jän'äribula? 30. Gul'a, ŋal'agura gaḍi ŋura. Wan'd'a n'umbalagura ŋura?

are-you-two-going ? South, our-two to country. Where your-two country ?
Ḑuni gaḑi ḡura Gun'ingun'in. 31. *Ḑawai. D'a:la ḡal'a bul'i d'angala. Gad'eri*
 This-way to country Gunjingunjin. Yes. Now we-two tired legs. Far
ḡura jān'ārīl'a. 32. *Galaia, ḡul'a janguli. Ḑana ḡura wanadi ?*
 country we-two-come. There, south let-us-two-go. What country is ?
Mandur. Wan'd'a gaḑi janguli ? 33. *Gangara. Ḑana ḡura ? Gulanggulay,*
 Mandur. Where to shall-we-two-go ? Up. What country ? Gulangulang,
balabala wuḑu wangu. 34. *Janguli wangu gaḑi. Ḑana ḡui ? Bala ḡui*
 that big stone. Let-us-two-go stone to. What animal ? There animal
wanadi ganiḡ, wangunga ḡui wanadi. 35. *Ḑana ḡui ? Landar. Ḑuni*
 is below, on-stone animal is. What animal ? Kangaroo. This-way
janguli, gagara. Ḑawai. 36. *Ḑana ḡui ? Balabala ḡui d'ulbugu.*
 let-us-two-go, east. Yes. What animal ? That animal kangaroo rat.
D'ingalguli. N'āminda ḡui ? Gud'ara. Janguli warugu, jijaḑi
 Let-us-two-kill-it. How-many animals ? Two. Let-us-two-go quickly, darkness
d'araiagu ḡura. 37. *Ḑuni gaḑi walibi, wuḑu gaḑi niamari gagara.* 38. *Gala*
 might-come-over land. This-way to camp, big to hill east. Then
wanduguli gagara. Wai ḡaba wanadi, babala ? Miḡa gangunara ḡabagu. Nad'a
 let-us-two-camp east ? ? water is, brother ? I-will-look-for water. Here
wanadi ; gala ḡalguli ḡaba. 39. *Nad'a ḡui gambann'a ḡad'ulu. Mulāl nad'a*
 is ; then let-us-two-eat water. Here meat I-cook I. Not here
mai nad'anga ḡura. 40. *Bulga ḡura nad'a ḡad'ulu jira mann'a. Ḑawai.*
 food in-this country. Bulga country he I call-it. Yes.
Janguli warug. 41. *Manan janguli bugula garal'a. Ba:ralu*
 Let-us-two-go quickly. In the morning let-us-two-go early cool. Sun
gambaialigu. Ḑana ḡui ? Bala wanadi walagora. 42. *Waranguna ḡala.*
 might-burn-us-two. What bird ? That is eaglehawk. Female then.
Ḑanagu waraia ? Gala warann'a, rawari ḡui. Gawani. Ganguli
 What-with strike ? Then I-strike it, dead bird. Bring-it. We-two-will-take
walagora. 43. *Bala wanadi ḡui. Ḑana ḡui ? Bargara, ḡui ḡaligura, mabu.*
 eaglehawk. There is bird. What bird ? Turkey, meat for-us-two, good.
 44. *Gala warain, rawari ḡala. Nad'a gan'an'a, nad'a miḡa gawa baninga.*
 There one, dead then. Here I-get-it, here see in-(my)-hand.
 45. *Wan'd'anga gambalguli ? Balanga miḡad'a Wai ḡaba ba ? Gambanḡalagu*
 Where-at shall-we-two-cook ? In-that look. ? water too ? We-might-cook
nad'a ḡui. 46. *N'undu jara ḡaba gaḑi. Ḑabagu ban'd'alara. Nad'anad'a ḡaba,*
 here meat. You go water to. For-water look. Here water,
wuḑu ḡaba. 47. *Mabu, babala, ḡaba ḡaligu waḑu. Wai n'undu walibi nad'anga*
 big water. Good, brother, water for-us-two big. ? you camp here
wandugun ? Mabu. 48. *Manan janguli ḡala. Wan'd'a gaḑi*
 are ? Good. In-the-morning let-us-two-go then. Where to
janguli ? Ḑunia, gagara, wuḑu niamari, Gulumbur. 49. *Gulumbur gaḑi*
 shall-we-two-go ? This way east, big hill, Gulumbur. Gulumbur to
janguli. Ḑaḑugura ḡura ? Bala N'anjumadagura ḡura. 50. *Ḑana warain*
 let-us-two-go. Whose country ? That Njangumada country What other

muwar ? *N'ājumada ba ŋulibadu Baɣamiɾi n'āɣan marŋo. N'āɣuliin'a.*
 language ? Njangumada and Ngulibadu. Perhaps you-see men. They-will-see-us-two.
Ŋawai, balabala wanadaja marŋo. Jālira d'anya marŋo, N'ājumada muwar.
 Yes, there are men. Front at men, Njangumada language.
 51. *Balabala N'ājumada jindaraja. Mabu gin'āɣaraŋu muwaridi.* 52. *Jārānibula.*
 Those Njangumada are-talking. Good they are-talking. Come along.
Mabu. Gawundarasiabulagu. 53. *Wan'd'a ɣuru ? Gad'eri ɣuru. Guladabulu*
 Good. They might call-them-two. Where from ? Far from. Guladabulu
ɣuru ɣura gulban'ārīl'a. 54. *N'ājumada n'ura. Wan'd'a ŋulibadu ? Nad'a*
 from country we-two-return. Njangumada you. Where Ngulibadu ? Here
gin'āɣaraŋu ŋulibadu. 55. *Mabu n'ura. ŋan'd'oro mabu marŋo. Warad'a bari*
 they Ngulibadu. Good you. We good men. One having
muwar, ɣal'a N'ājumada. 56. *Gala d'ai n'umbala d'anagu. Wai gui ?*
 language, we-two Njangumada. Then come you-two to-them. ? meat ?
Wan'd'a marŋo d'awari ? D'ābir manabulan'ara. 57. *Ŋuniɣuni, gul'a. Gin'āɣaraŋu*
 Where men crows ? Ask-them-two. This-way, south. They
d'adi marŋo buɗa ɣan'araja. Ŋawai. D'awari marŋo Bundubundu ɣura. Bala
 poor fellows excrement they-eat. Yes. Crow men Bundubundu country. That
gaɗi ɣura jān'abula.
 two country they-two-go.

Translation.

1. The two (brothers) Gagamara and Gumbar were living above in the Magellanic Clouds. 2. Gagamara hit (Ngurudjāwuru). They had been looking at Ngurudjāwuru, 3. (when Gagamara said), "Let us hit him." "Eh, brother ?" answered Gumbar, 4. "What shall we hit him with ?" "Let us hit him with *birimal*." 5. They hurled it and knocked him down on to his belly. They hit him so that he could not stand up. 6. "Oh !" (he called out), "What are you two about ?" "You're no big man" (was the answer). "What's your name ?" 7. "I am Ngurudjāwuru." "Where's your country ?" "My country is Migiga." 8. Gagamara and Gumbar then said to him, "Well, good-bye ; we are going away, and you are going to die soon."

9. Another man, named Bi:ri, came along from the west. The two brothers saw him. 10. "Who are you two fellows ?" (he asked them). "We are Gagamara and Gumbar." "You two hit Ngurudjāwuru, our man." 11. "Well, don't be angry about it" (said the brothers), "who are you, anyway ?" "I am Bi:ri." 12. "What country do you come from ?" "This is my country, just here. My wife is Galjāli." 13. Then Gumbar and Gagamara said, "Well, good-bye." 14. Bi:ri said to them then, "You two go to Wanguru ; there are plenty of men and women there, good men and women." 15. "Then don't be angry (with us)."

16. Two men were going along ; there they were, coming from the north. 17. "Brother" (said one of the two brothers), "Let us hurry." "Where are you two from ?" (asked the newcomers). "We are Gagamara and Gumbar." 18. "You two hit Ngurudjāwuru. What did you do it for ? He was a big man, a fighter, and our man, and afterwards he died. 19. What did you two hit him with ? A spear ?" 20. "No" (they replied), "with a *birimal*." "Well, he died afterwards." 21. "Maybe ; he was still alive

when we two left him. Don't be angry with us ; someone might be afraid about him later.
22. We two are going south. Are there men there ? "

The two went on to Mangunu. 23. What man did they see ? Gadjagudi. Yes ; they saw fire and smoke as they went from a hill. 24. There were men camping there. They two came up. " What meat is there ? " (they asked). 25. " Meat ? " (answered the man addressed). " Who are you two fellows ? " " We are Gagamara and Gumbar. " " Here's some meat for you two. " 26. They began to eat the meat. " What meat is this ? " " Salmon " and here's some (vegetable) food, nalgo. 27. There is no honey. I am camping down by the seaside ; you'll find honey over there east in the bush. 28. Here there is only meat. There is some turtle ; that's good meat. Gadjagudi went on talking to them. " Are there men ? " 29. " Yes, over that way, at Wanguru, that's where they are. " " (When) we two reach Wanguru (will there be) men and women ? Are there many there ? " " Where are you two making for ? " 30. " We are making south, to our own country. " " Where is your country ? " " This way, in the direction of Gunjingunjin. " 31. " Oh, yes. " " But just now we are tired with walking. We have come a long way. " 32. (Then the two brothers said to each other), " Let us go southwards. " " What country is that ? " (asked one). " Mandur " (replied the other). " Where shall we go ? " 33. " Let's go up. " " What country ? " " Gulangulang, that big stone. " 34. " All right ; let us go to the stone. What animal is that ? There's an animal down below there, on a stone. " 35. " What animal ? That's a kangaroo. Let us go this way, eastwards. " 36. " All right ; now what animal is that ? " " That's a kangaroo rat. Let us two kill it. " " How many animals are there ? " " Two. Let us hurry up, we shall be benighted. 37. This is the way to the camp, towards that big hill eastwards. " 38. " Then let us camp to the east. Is there water there, brother ? " " I'll go and look for water. Here it is ; then let us have a drink. " 39. " I'll do the cooking here. There is no (vegetable) food in this country. 40. I call this country Bulga. " " Yes. Let us hurry. 41. In the morning we shall go on again early, in the cool, lest the sun burn us. What bird is that ? " " That's an eaglehawk. " 24. " I believe it is a female. What can we hit it with ? " " There, I've hit it ; it's a dead bird now. Bring it along. We'll take the eaglehawk with us. " 43. " There is a bird. " " What bird is that ? " " A turkey, that will be good meat for us, too. " 44. " There's another one, then, dead. I've brought it here, see it in my hand. 45. Now where shall we two cook them ? Just look over there ; is that water, too ? Suppose we cook the meat here. 46. You go and fetch water. Have a look round for water. " " Here is water, plenty of it. " 47. " Good, brother, plenty of water for us-two. Are you going to camp here ? Good. 48. In the morning, then, we shall go on. Which way shall we make ? " " This way, east, to that big hill, Gulumbur. " 49. " Let us then go to Gulumbur. Whose country is it ? " " That is Njangumada country. " 50. " What other language ? " " Njangumada and Ngulibadu. Perhaps you can see men ? " " They will be seeing us-two. " 51. " Yes ; there are men over there, in front of us, talking Njangumada. " " Yes, that is Njangumada they are talking. They are talking (about something) good. " 52. " Come along, you-two " (the men call out). " Good. " They might be calling them-two. 53. " Where do you come from ? " " From afar. We-two are going back from Guladabulu country. 54. You fellows are Njangumada. Where are the Ngulibadu men ? " " They Ngulibadu men are here. " 55. " Good for you fellows. We are all good men. We all have the same language, for we two are Njangumada. " 56. " Then you two come along to them. " " Is there

any meat?" "Where are the Crow men? Ask them two." 57. "This way, southwards. They are poor fellows; they eat excrement." "Yes. The crow men are in Bundubundu country. That is the country those two are going to."

Notes.

D'ilba is the dwelling place of the heroes in the sky, but they are still able to take part in mundane affairs. The hero Ngurudjawuru has already been mentioned. He is mentioned also by Piddington (*Oceania*, III, 53) as a hero of the Northern Tradition. There is, as usual, no time sequence between the two stories. The text is fairly straightforward and does not call for much grammatical explanation. 2 is elliptical, and best supplied as in the translation above; *mira ga-yu-l-bula* is a sort of future perfect, using supplements C (iii), 9 and 4, with the ending of the third person dual subject. 4. *Birimal* are sacred objects, of the *tjurunga* type, shown to initiands first at the final initiation ceremony, and never seen by women. See notes by Piddington, *Oceania*, II, 3, pp. 346, 353, and III, 1, p. 49, and illustration IIIA to the last-mentioned article. 9. In the previous text he was at *Ro:la* (Elkin No. 22). 10. *yan'd'oro-gu*, "for us" (inclusive), is difficult, as the exclusive would be expected, and is actually used in 18. Does it imply that Bi:ri expects some sort of loyalty from the two brothers to Ngurudjawuru? 12. *n'undu*, "your." The *-gura* is omitted, and this becomes normal in the eastern dialect of Wolmeri, about Bililuna station. 23 is put in by the narrator, as a concession to general clarity. He either does not put in the action at all, or just by way of explanation to an imaginary questioner, as here. 26. *yalabula* is not future, but the inceptive use of *-l-* (C. (iii), 4), *ya-la-bula*, eat-begin-they-two. 27. *wana-n-n'a*, "I am camping," with supplement C (iii), 8 (the cerebral element being lost before the following palatal of the pronominal suffix); the other common form of the verb is with the continuative supplement *-di*, e.g. *wana-di*, *wana-da-ja*, etc. as throughout the texts. In the inland dialects the final vowel is lost: *wan-di*, etc. 13 and 29. Wanguru, has been mentioned before. It is near Migiga, at Lagrange. The Mangunu mentioned in 22 is No. 19 on Dr. Elkin's map, and is situated at C. Jaubert. The Gunjingunjin of No. 30 is not explained. In 40 Bulga looks to be Dr. Elkin's 23a, Bulnga, on Frazier Downs. It is worth noticing that the animal (and these sections show how ambiguous the term *gui* is) mentioned in 25, *landar*, is a variety of kangaroo; the kangaroo rat properly being *d'ulbu*. 49. Gulumbur is not placed. Again the Njangumada come into the story, and the two brothers this time claim to be Njangumada and to speak the language as their own. Whether this may be historically correct is uncertain. Piddington (*Oceania*, III, 51) mentions their really belonging to the De Grey River country. There is no mention of Ngulibadu by other writers, and it may be a variant on the Nga:la of the preceding story, whose name has also been written Ngurla (= *yu:la*) by others. 56 and 57. The reference to the "crow" men is difficult. Dr. Elkin gives crow as totem for D'ind'algurin (Lagrange), which is Ngurudjawuru's country. He does not, however, mention Bundubundu country at all. It looks as though it might be south of Garadjeri country altogether.

This is the last of the texts about the two brothers. The next deals with other culture-heroes, and the concluding group is cosmogonic.

TEXT VI. MÉLUMBU'S MARRIAGE.

1. *Bala Málumbu marjo Buruṅu, Migiga ḡura. D'ābulu gin'āṅgura Bi:ri.*
That Málumbu man Burong, Migiga country. Father his Bi:ri.
2. *Galiguru jani maṅu. Balagud'ara Maran'd'i ba D'irid'irain (balagud'ara Banaga)*
Bullroarer he-made. They-two Marandji and Djiridjirain (they-two Panaka)
- jindanbula.* 3. *Janguli mira ganguli jago ṅaligura Málumbu.* 4. *Nangud'ara*
said. Let-us-two-go see w.b. of-us-two Málumbu. Those-two
- Gal'adn'ān (ḡurad'ara). Gal'āli d'ando Bi:riḡura. ḡuni janguli gara Migiga*
Galjadnjān country. Galjāli wife of Bi:ri. This-way let-us-two-go west Migiga
- gaḡi.* 5. *N'āṅan'ābula Málumbu, bala wanadi jago. Wan'd'a d'ābulu gin'āṅgura ?*
to. They-two-see Málumbu, he is w.b. Where father his ?
- Wan'd'a gabud'u ? Bala wanadi.* 6. *Na:niṅu lani nad'a gaḡi wulḡuru. Wan'd'a*
Where sister ? There is. From-here close here to shade. Where
- ḡuru ? ḡunia gagaraṅu.* 7. *Gud'ara muwar gin'āṅgaraṅu. Muḡa. Wai wanadaja*
from ? This-way from-east. Two talk those. Nothing. ? are
- gagara d'ābulu n'unbulagura ?* 8. *ḡuni wanadi gagara. ḡawai. Wai jāṅgu*
east father of-you-two ? This-way he-is east Yes. ? shall-he-go
- na:niṅu ? Mulāl. Gala wanadaja maṅa.* 9. *Mingin, jāṅyalagu gagara ṅad'ugura*
from-here ? No. Then they-sit-stay. Wait, he-might-go east my
- d'ābulu. Gala mabu. Nad'a n'unbulagura balamaru. Wai n'i:mba ? Nad'a n'i:mba.*
father. Then good. Here your-two weapons. ? belt ? Here belt.
10. *Wai laṅḡur ? Nad'a Wandaṅu ṅad'ugu. Nad'a gaḡi wanadi. ḡawai*
? opossum ? Here. Forehead-band for-me. Here to is. Yes
- d'ābulugu n'unḡugura.* 11. *Gud'ara gabud'u nangud'aragura nilban d'anga Gala wuḡu*
for-father your. Two sisters of them-two promise at. Then big
- gin'āṅgud'ara gabud'u gud'ara. Galaia jāṅgubula ṅala.* 12. *Balagu jan'āl'ara,*
those-two sisters two. Then they-two-will-go. Thither we-two-go,
- ṅal'aguragu d'ando.* 13. *Gala wuḡu. ḡawai. Jāṅgubula gagara*
to-our-two wives. Now-that-they-are big. Yes. The-two-shall-go east
- gabud'u gud'ara.* 14. *Maṅa wandi:a nad'anga, min malad'i, ṅuni jān'ān'a ḡudain*
sisters two. Sitting are here, waiting, hither I-go mother
- ba d'ābulugu.* 15. *Nad'a gaḡi gud'ara jago. Wan'd'a wanadibula ? ḡunia,*
and father-for. Here to two w.b. Where are they-two ? This-way,
- walibinga (Ro:la ḡura). D'āmbaḡu Migiga wanadi.* 16. *Jāṅgun'a. ḡawai. ḡunia*
in-camp (Ro:la country). M.F. Migiga is Let-us-go. Yes. This-way
- Ro:la gaḡi d'a:la jāṅgun'a.* 17. *Bala gud'ara jago wanadibula. ḡawai. Gala*
Ro:la to now let-us-go. They two w.b. are. Yes. Then
- jāṅgun'a, warugu jāṅgun'a. Wan'd'a ? Bala jān'ara, mangud'ara mira gān'aribulain'a,*
let-us-go, quickly let-us-go. Where ? There go, those-two are-looking-at-us,
- warugu !* 18. *Gabud'u gud'ara mai gawabula jagogu, gud'aragu. Nad'a*
quick ! Sisters two food bring for-sister's husbands two. Here
- mai, jārin'āri, ḡui ḡulibil. ḡawai.* 19. *Nad'a ḡui, mai. Mulāl n'unbula wulḡu.*
food, nalgo, meat turtle. Yes. Here meat, food. Not you-two afraid.
- Muwar jindalabula. ḡan'a d'ando, ṅal'a d'ando n'unbulagura.* 20. *ḡana ? Mulāl*
You-two-talk. We women, we-two wives of you-two. What ? Not

wulgu. D'irid'irain n'undu jago *ɲad'ugura.* Maran'd'i n'undu *ɲad'ugura* jago.
 fear. Djiridjirain you sis.h. mine. Marandji you my sis.h.
ɳawai. 21. Wan'd'a *ɲaligu* walibi? Nad'a walibi. Wan'd'a *ɲali*? Balaiaŋga
 Yes. Where for-us-two camp? Here camp. Where we-two? Over-there
wanduguli. 22. Muläl n'undu *wulgu.* *ɳawai.* N'undu *marɲo* *ɲad'ugura.*
 we-two-shall-camp. Not you fear. All-right. You man my.
Mingin, *ɲala nuruɲu d'äriguna ɲala n'undu gaɟi.* 23. *Gagara jängun'a, galaia*
 Wait, and *nuruɲu* I-shall-do you to. East let-us-go, there
gulba-guna Gal'adn'an gaɟi. *Jängun'a.* 24. *N'äŋara jängun'a?* *Manan.*
 I-shall-return Galjadnjan to. Let-us-go. When shall-we-go? To-morrow.
Galaiau! *Gala wandaja au!* *Gala jän'äri'l'a.* *ɳawai.* 25. *Galaia;* *gala jän'ärana.*
 Right! Then good-bye! Then we-two-go. Yes. All right; then we-go.
Gaiba d'ai gana ɲala. *ɳawai;* *galaia wandi:a.* *Dugu, järabula.*
 Bye and bye come I shall. Yes; then good-bye. Dugu, you-I-go.
 26. *Galaia, muläl guli.* *N'unbula guli ɲuniŋga, mabu wandajabula.* *ɳawai,*
 All-right, not angry, You-two fight here, good you-two-camp. Yes,
wandugul'a.
 we-two-will-camp.

Translation.

1. The man Málumbu was of the Burong section, and belonged to Migiga country. His father was Bi:ri. 2. He used to make bull-roarers. Two Panaka men, named Marandji and Djiridjirain, said (to each other), "Let us two go and see our wives' brother, Málumbu." 3. These two belonged to Galjadnjan country. The name of Bi:ri's wife was Galjäli. 4 "Let us go this way, west, to Migiga" (they said). 5. The two of them saw Málumbu, who was their wife's brother. "Where is his father?" (they asked each other). "Where is his sister?" 6. "There—right close by in the shade here." "Where have you come from?" (they were asked). 7. The two of them were talking, just about nothing in particular. "Is the father of you two over east?" 8. "Yes, he is over east here." "Oh, yes." "Is he going away from here?" "No." They then pitch their camp. 9. "Wait, he may go east—my father (I mean)." "Good. Here are weapons for you two. Have you a belt? Here is a belt. 10. Have you opossum (fur)? Here is some. Here is my forehead band. Here it is here. Yes, that's for your father." 11. The two sisters of those two men have been promised (in marriage). They are big now, so they will go away. 12. "We two will go there, to our wives; 13. they are grown up now." "Yes; the two sisters shall go east. 14. They are camped here, waiting, and I am going now to their mother and father." 15. "There are two wives' brothers here." "Where are they?" "Over here in camp in Roland's country. Their mother's father is at Migiga." 16. "Let us go." "All right, we'll go to-day over to Ro:la. 17. Those two are wives' brothers." "Yes. Let us go, then, and hurry up." "Where to?" "There; the two of them are looking at us. Quick! 18. You two sisters, bring (vegetable) food for your sister's husbands." "Here is food, nalgo, and turtle meat." "All right." 19. "Here is meat and (vegetable) food; don't you two be afraid." "You two talk! We are women, and we-two are your wives. 20. What, then, don't be afraid. Djiridjirain, you are sister's husband of mine. Marandji, you are sister's husband of mine." 21. "Yes. Where can we two camp?"

"Here's the camp." "Where can we-two camp (i.e. the other couple)?" "We shall camp over there. 22. Don't be afraid." "All right. You are my husband." "Wait a bit, I'll carry out *nuruyu* to you." 23. "Let us go east, and I'll go back to Galjadrjan." "Let us go." 24. "When shall we set out?" "To-morrow." "Right! Good-bye, then! We two are going." "All right." 25. "So then, we are off. Bye and bye I will go." "All right; good-bye. Dugu, you go with them." 26. "All right, no fighting. You two fight over there, then they will camp." "All right, we two will camp."

Notes.

There are difficulties in this story that arise chiefly from the ambiguous meanings of certain kinship terms. Malumbur's father, Bi:ri, is a Garimba man married to Gäl'äli, a Bal'eri woman. Marand'i and D'irind'irin are both Banaga men from Gal'a country. Marand'i and D'irind'irin went west to Migiga to see Malumbur, who was their wife's brother (*jago*), and left their father over east. On arrival at Migiga they wonder where Malumbur's father and sister are and notice that they are close by. Malumbur says, "My father may go east," and then (9) gives Marand'i and D'irind'irin various things including a forehead band, all for their father out east. The sisters of Marand'i and D'irind'irin are ready for marriage and will go away (i.e. for marriage). This sentence is a narrator's explanation. Marand'i and D'irind'irin then decide to go to their promised wives at Ro:la ("Roland's" Station). There are two wives' brothers camped at Roland's and so Marand'i and D'irind'irin go there. On arrival they ask the two sisters of these men for food and tell them to acknowledge that they are their wives, i.e. wives of Marand'i and D'irind'irin.

A. CAPELL.

(To be concluded.)

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS :

Anthropological Society of N.S.W.: Financial Position.

Sir :

I have examined the cash books and vouchers of the Anthropological Society of N.S.W. for the period commencing 1st October, 1947, and ending 30th September, 1948, and certify that the following Statement of Income and Expenditure is correctly

compiled therefrom and that in my opinion the accompanying Statement of Assets and Liabilities fairly sets out the position of the Society at the concluding date.

The valuation of the stock on hand of MANKIND as vouched for by the Honorary Secretary has been accepted by me.

E. A. HOLDEN,
Chartered Accountant (Aust.).

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED
30TH SEPTEMBER, 1948.

EXPENDITURE.				INCOME.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Stationery and Printing	9	6	11	By Subscriptions	65	11	6
„ Postages	8	4	7	„ Bank Interest	1	19	11
„ Insurance	0	5	0	„ Sales of Journal MANKIND	28	1	0
„ Exchange	0	7	10	„ Donations	0	15	0
„ Reimbursement Sundry Expenses	1	4	9				
„ Cost of Printing MANKIND, less Contributions from Victorian and South Australian Societies	44	14	8				
			64 3 9				
„ Excess of Income over Expenditure			32 3 8				
			<u>£96 7 5</u>				<u>£96 7 5</u>

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 30TH SEPTEMBER, 1948.

LIABILITIES.						ASSETS.					
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	
Society Fund—							Stocks on Hand—MANKIND	..	143	16	0
Balance as at 1st October,							Library	..	50	0	0
1947				256	2	0	Commonwealth Savings Bank	..	99	13	11
Add—							Cash in Hand	..	0	6	9
Increase Stocks of											
MANKIND	5	11	0								
Excess of Income over											
Expenditure for the											
year ended 30th											
September, 1948 ..	32	3	8								
					37	14	8				
					£293	16	8				
		</									

The Anthropological Society of Victoria

(Founded 1932)

OFFICE-BEARERS, 1948-1949.

President : Mr. G. N. Hyam.

Vice-Presidents : Mr. S. R. Mitchell, Mr. H. R. Balfour.

Committee :

Mr. G. White, Mr. J. Thompson, Mr. C. A. S. Mansbridge, Dr. Alan Griffiths,
Mr. H. C. E. Stewart, Rev. D. Rettick.

Hon. Secretary : Mr. R. C. Seeger, 56 Jenkins St., Northcote, N.18.

Hon. Treasurer : Mr. R. C. Seeger, 56 Jenkins St., Northcote, N.16.

Hon. Auditor : Mr. E. E. Lord.

Meetings are held in the Anatomy Lecture Theatre (rear entrance), University of Melbourne on Wednesday evenings as advertised, at 8 p.m., at regular intervals. Annual subscription (including free supply of **MANKIND**), 10/-.

The Anthropological Society of Queensland

(Founded 1948)

OFFICE-BEARERS, 1948-1949.

President : Professor H. J. Wilkinson.

Vice-President : Associate Professor F. Robinson.

Council :

Mr. G. Mack, Mr. J. W. Johnstone.

Hon. Treasurer : Mr. F. S. Colliver, c/o Geology Department, University of Queensland.

Hon. Secretary : Dr. L. P. Winterbotham, M.B., B.S. (Melb.), 538 Ipswich Road,
Annerley, Brisbane, S.3.

The Australian Anthropological Association

Members :

Anthropological Society of New South Wales.
Anthropological Society of South Australia.
Anthropological Society of Victoria.
Anthropological Society of Queensland.

OFFICE-BEARERS, 1948-1949.

President : Dr. A. Capell, M.A., Ph.D.

Hon. Secretary : Miss G. M. Bell, 164 Prince's Highway, Arncliffe.

Hon. Treasurer : Mr. F. D. McCarthy, c.o. Australian Museum, College St., Sydney.

OBJECTS.

- (a) To promote the science of Anthropology.
- (b) To hold biennial conferences of delegates from affiliated societies to deal with matters affecting affiliated societies generally, or the science of anthropology.
- (c) To take public and official action in the interests of anthropology, as may be deemed desirable.
- (d) To encourage affiliated societies to co-operate in every possible way.

The Anthropological Society of N.S.W. as such is not responsible for any opinion or declaration published in this magazine, by whomsoever expressed, unless specifically stated to be so by the Editor.

All communications, MSS., and proposed advertisements to be addressed to Mr. F. D. McCarthy, Editor, City of Sydney Public Library, George Street, Sydney.

Persons interested in the work of the Society please address correspondence to the Hon. Secretary.

MANKIND

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETIES
OF AUSTRALIA

Vol. 4, No. 4.

FEBRUARY, 1950

Price : 3s. 6d.

CONTENTS

PLATE I. ECONOMICS AND RITUAL IN SAGO EXTRACTION IN TIKOPIA.

PLATE J. MIGRATIONS OF THE TASMANIANS.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES :

ECONOMICS AND RITUAL IN SAGO EXTRACTION IN TIKOPIA	PROFESSOR RAYMOND	131
FIRTH		
MIGRATIONS OF THE TASMANIANS.	PROFESSOR GRIFFITH TAYLOR	145
SOME MYTHS OF THE GARADJERI TRIBE, W.A.	DR. A. CAPELL	148

OBITUARIES :

Mr. W. J. Enright, B.A.	PROFESSOR A. P. ELKIN	162
Mr. Harold J. Wright, A.M.I.E. (Aust.).	MR. F. D. MCCARTHY	164

REVIEWS :

Stone Age Craftsmen.	MR. S. R. MITCHELL. (F. D. McCarthy)	165
The Armytage Collection of Maori Jade.	K. ATHOL WEBSTER. (Roger Duff)	166

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS :

A Cape York Legend.	H. O. LETHBRIDGE	166	Aboriginal Net Making.	H. G. LAMOND	168
A Bathurst Is. Initiation Rite.	H. K. FRY	167	Anthropological Society of N.S.W.:		
			Financial Position, 1949		169

Published by
THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NEW SOUTH WALES.
C/o. Australian Museum, College St., Sydney.

The Anthropological Society of New South Wales

(Founded 1928)

OFFICE BEARERS, 1949-1950.

President : Dr. N. W. G. Macintosh, M.B., B.S.

Vice-Presidents : Professor A. P. Elkin, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.I., Dr. A. Capell, M.A., Ph.D.

Council :

Mr. A. D. G. Downer, Mr. E. J. Bryce, F.R.G.S., Mr. F. L. S. Bell, M.A., F.R.A.I.,
Mr. Carlyle Greenwell, B.Sc., Mr. D. S. Wylie, F.A.I.S., A.S.A.A. (Eng.).

Hon. Treasurer : Mr. F. D. McCarthy, Dip.Anthr. (Syd.), c/o Australian Museum.

Hon. Secretary : Miss G. M. Bell, 164 Prince's Highway, Arncliffe.

Editorial Committee : Mr. F. L. S. Bell (Editor), Mr. F. D. McCarthy, Dr. A. Capell.

Hon. Auditor : Mr. D. R. Wylie, A.C.A. (Aust.), A.C.I.S. (Eng.).

The Anthropological Society of South Australia

(Founded 1926)

OFFICE-BEARERS, 1949.

President : Mr. N. B. Tindale.

Vice-President : Mr. T. G. H. Strehlow.

Council :

Professor A. A. Abbie, Dr. T. D. Campbell, Dr. E. C. Black, Professor J. J. Cleland,
Rev. H. K. Bartlett.

Hon. Librarian : Miss G. D. Walsh.

Hon. Treasurer : Mr. Edward V. Dix.

Hon. Secretary : Mr. E. L. Austin, c.o. The Electricity Trust of S.A.,
232 North Terrace, Adelaide.